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Inter-Arab Affairs

Envoy Says All Egyptian Prisoners in Iraq Freed

NC1610180891 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1647 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 16 Oct (MENA)—'Abdallah Adam, an Arab League secretary general envoy, returned to Cairo from Baghdad this evening, ending a mission Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid gave him to carry out contacts on Kuwaiti prisoners in Iraq.

Upon arrival in Cairo, Adam said he will submit a report to Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid on his mission in Baghdad concerning the Kuwaiti detainees in Iraq. He said that all Egyptian prisoners, who number about 14, have all been freed.

Maghreb Ministers Meet on Coordinating Policies

LD1210081091 Rabat MAP in English 1311 GMT 11 Oct 91

["Pool" item]

[Text] Rabat, Oct. 11 (MAP/POOL/AMU)—Maghreban ministers in charge of the Maghreban community abroad who held a meeting here this October 9-10 stressed the need to unify Maghreban policies, coordinate action, and set forth a common strategy that wil guarantee the community interests and protect their right. The report adopted at the end of the meeting, calls for a new kind of relationship between the EEC and the Arab Maghreb Union [AMU] on the basis of dialogue and new cooperation links. The ministers unanimously underlined the need to work out a Magreb charter that wil guarantee the rights of the Magreban community in hosting countries and voiced concern over the "difficult situation and hostile campaign the community is sometimes subject to". The charter to be based on equality of rights and treatment "should guarantee freedom of movement, of stay, the right to family grouping, improvement of living conditions, employment, education and social protection. And to the Maghreban ministers, a new AMU-EEC relationship requires a global long-term co-development plan between the two banks of the Mediterranean. Such a plan will furthermore consolidate peace and stability in the region, they underlined. The ministers later briefed Moroccan Premier Azzedine Laraki on the meeting. Participating ministers are Mohamed Mesteruri, Algerian minister of social affairs; jAmed Smaoui, Tunisian minister of social affairs; Muhammad Ma'lu, secretary of the Libyan People's Committee in Charge of Vocational Training; and Rafik Haddaoui Moroccan minister in charge of the Moroccan community abroad. Mauritania was represented by its ambassador to Rabat.

King Hassan Chairs Meeting of Maghreb Envoys

LD1210080091 Rabat MAP in English 1238 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Rabat, Oct.11 (MAP)—King Hassan II Thursday [10 October] chaired a meeting with Arab Maghreb countries' ambassadors to Rabat, Abdelmajid Allamoum of Algeria, Ahmed Khalid of Tunisia, Muhammad 'Abd al-Hasim of Libya and Mohamed Abdulahi of Mauritania. The meeting was attended by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Ahmed Cherkaoui.

Palestinian Affairs

PLO Denies Submitting List of Delegates

JN1710080391 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 17 Oct 91 p 21

[Text] Amman—The PLO has denied that it has submitted to the United States a list containing the names of the Palestinian delegates to the upcoming peace conference.

In an exclusive statement to AL-RA'Y, Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, PLO Executive Committee member and head of the PLO Information Committee, said stories on the list of names reported by various media yesterday are fabricated and baseless.

He said no list of Palestinian delegates will be submitted before a decision to attend the conference is finalized, a decision which the PLO has not yet made. 'Abd-Rabbuh said the decision to participate may be made by the PLO Central Council.

In a related development, Shaykh 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sa'ih, speaker of the Palestine National Council and chairman of the PLO Central Council, told AL-RA'Y yesterday before leaving for Tunisia that the PLO Central Council members will meet in the Tunisian capital Wednesday [16 September] to decide on a number of important Palestinian matters, including the PLO's participation in the peace conference, the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, and other crucial issues.

Hamas, Others Reject 'Conference of Humiliation'

JN1610193991 (Clandestine) Al-Quds Palestinian Arab Radio in Arabic 1750 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] In Palestine, a statement has been issued by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command [PFLP-GC]; the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas; Fatah-the Revolutionary Council; the Mujahid Islamic Trend [al-ittijah al-islami al-mujahid]; the Islamic Jihad Movement; and Fatah-the Uprising. The statement says:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: No to relinquishing Jerusalem and Palestine. The Palestinian people's issue, the central issue of our nation, is passing through a dangerous and unprecedented stage.

This is because the plot of scrapping the Palestine question and selling Jerusalem and Palestine, thanks to the U.S.-Zionist alliance's effort, is approaching its end. Palestinian representation is the last remaining obstacle to the convocation of the so-called peace conference intended to be held in October 1991.

Although this conference is part of U.S.-Zionist arrangements to impose hegemony on the region and entrench the Zionist entity in Palestine, the heart of the Arab and Islamic nation, the PLO leadership responded to U.S.-Zionist pressure. Thus, it hastily held the 20th Palestine National Council [PNC] session and had it pass a resolution approving participation in the peace conference and empowering that leadership to proceed along that path. This means that the Palestinian people recognize the usurping enemy's confiscation of their right to existence and self-determination. This is an unprecedented decision in the history of nations and peoples. It also runs contrary to the history of the Palestinian people.

The statement adds: Through the proposed conference, the United States wants the Arab and international situation emerging in the aftermath of the Gulf war and events in the Soviet Union to continue so as to consolidate its hegemony over the region in a manner compatible with its new world order. It also wants to liquidate the Palestine question, resolve the conflict at the expense of the Palestinian people's rights, and legalize the Zionist entity's illegal existence on our Palestinian territory.

Declaring our rejection of the PNC's decision to participate in the so-called peace conference, we stress that this decision neither represents nor binds our Palestinian people for the following reasons:

1. The absence of many Palestinian forces, which have an effective role in the arena of national Palestinian struggle, from the process of decisionmaking.

2. The PNC's agreement to attend the conference with its U.S.-Zionist formula, and under the current prevailing circumstances, is considered a dangerous violation of our Palestinian people's national rights.

3. NoLody has the right to relinquish Palestinian territory, to cede our Palestinian people's national inalienable rights, or to sell their holy places.

What will those anxious to participate in the conference gain except to sign a document relinquishing Palestinian territory in return for worthless self-administration? Will we go to the conference to set a dangerous precedent by recognizing the usurping Zionist entity's existence on our territory?

While declaring this stand to our Palestinian people and to all other Arab and Muslim peoples, we would like to affirm the following:

1. We consider any Palestinian delegation that participates in this conference an illegal delegation, because it would be formed in accordance with illegal decisions for the reasons already explained.

2. We urge all masses of our heroic Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories, the masses of our Arab and Islamic nation, as well as all peoples who sympathize with our Palestinian people's rights, to reject the conference of humiliation and capitulation through which the Palestinians are meant to endorse the obliteration of their own cause, and to resist this conference by all means.

3. We hold the PLO leadership responsible for this forfeiture of our legitimate national rights, and also for the ensuing consequences.

4. We affirm that the blessed intifadah will continue, and also that it will not be a bargaining chip. We call for escalating confrontations with the Zionist enemy as a practical response to the advocates of participation in the liquidation conference.

5. We affirm our adherence to national unity, which must be based on the following bases:

—The unity of Palestinian soil, and viewing Palestine from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River as an indivisible whole.

—Nonrecognition of the Zionist entity's right to our blessed Palestinian land.

—Working to maintain and develop the intifadah and to escalate confrontations with the Zionist enemy to pave the way for initiating an all-out popular revolution.

—Jihad is the only way to accomplish the objective of liberating Palestine.

Let it be known by all that history will not be lenient, and also that future generations will curse all those who forfeited their rights. Will the PLO leadership then show an awareness of the grave responsibilities entailed and the dangers posed by participation? Furthermore, are PNC members aware that they violated the PLO's National Charter when they adopted their recent decision to participate in the capitulation and liquidation conference? We urge all sons of our mujahid Palestinian people to express their rejection of the conference that will realize the Zionist hopes, which, until the very recent past, the Zionists had viewed as big dreams.

We pledge to God, to our heroic people, and to our Arab and Islamic nation to continue the jihad, using all the power that we have. Let us together enhance the unity of our people and nation until God allows us to achieve certain victory. And say, when will that be? Say, maybe it will be quite soon. [part of Koranic verse]

[Signed] The PFLP-GC; the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas; Fatah-the Revolutionary Council; the Mujahid Islamic Trend; the Islamic Jihad Movement; and Fatah-the Uprising

*Hamas Leaflet Condemns Conference

92AE0016A Amman AL-RIBAT in Arabic
24 Sep 91 p 9

[Article: "Statement for History: 'No' to Conference for Selling Palestine and Jerusalem"]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,

"O ye that believe! Betray not the trust of God and the Apostle nor misappropriate knowingly things entrusted to you" [Koran 8:27].

Our Arab Islamic region is passing through a serious turning point that is unprecedented in our glorious nation's history. In all cases of exposure to invasion and occupation, it has never so happened that the nation has surrendered any right or authority to the aggressor. In these difficult circumstances which have followed the Gulf crisis and war, and under which the United States has become the sole leader of the world and has imposed a new world system founded in part on entrenching weakness, division, and subservience in our Arab and Islamic nation—in this circumstance, the United States is seeking to convene a peace conference whose main objective is to liquidate the Palestinian cause and to entrench the false presence of the Zionist entity by establishing the greater Israel that stretches from the Nile to the Euphrates.

Under the circumstances which the idea of the so-called peace conference was born, the parties that have called for this conference with enticement and intimidation, and the objectives set for this conference make the issue as clear as the midday sun. The conference seeks to lend international legitimacy to the presence of the false Zionist entity on the soil from which Prophet Muhammad ascended to the seven heavens—a legitimacy acknowledged not just by the countries of the world, but also by the Arab states and Palestinian people. This is in addition to accepting this Zionist entity and pledging to provide the facilities necessary for its st, bility, such as normalizing relations with this entity and allowing it to play a role in the regional security system.

The most important objective of this is to get the Palestinian people, the victim, to recognize the right of the Zionist entity, the aggressor, and to confiscate their presence, sacred lands, and right to freedom and independence. If the U.S.-Zionist alliance has secured the recognition of a number of Arab states, then this conference seeks to gain Palestinian recognition in the manner desired by this alliance. Thus, this is a conference for selling Palestine, all of Palestine with its blessed soil, its holy al-Aqsa Mosque, and its venerable Jerusalem.

What bloodies our hearts most painfully and what grieves us is this rabid rush by some of our kinsmen and our people's sons to respond to the U.S.-Zionist snare and the attempt to embellish this rush to the Palestinian people and the Arab nation.

Our Palestinian people, masses of our Arab and Islamic nation:

In these critical circumstances, the PLO leadership and symbols are engaged in ever-accelerated moves inside and outside occupied Palestine, and they continue to tour Arab and western capitals to secure their participation and to reserve their seats in the "conference to sell Jerusalem." These leaders and symbols have rushed to invite the Palestine National Council [PNC] to convene at this particular time in order to approve the PLO leadership tendencies or to give the Executive Committee and the Central Council an open authorization to deal with and participate in the "conference to sell Jerusalem" in the same manner in which approval was given to partition Resolution 181 and Resolutions 242 and 338, with their clear and unambiguous recognition of the Jewish entity and of the legitimacy of the usurpation of our blessed land. They are left with nothing to cede as a result of the chain of Arab and Palestinian concessions and retreats. They moved from demanding the full and undiminished liberation of all of Palestine from the river to the sea and rejecting peace, recognition, and negotiation to demanding the territories occupied in 1967 and dropping all the 'nos'. Now they have ended up accepting the current U.S.-Zionist conditions, which do not secure minimal Palestinian rights. What is required now at the U.S. and Zionist level is to bestow Palestinian legitimacy on the unjust U.S.-Zionist solution. We are all required to sell this legitimacy and to sign our own death warrant, with nobody among our people and nation daring to swerve from the U.S.-Zionist will, to demand Palestine, or to fight for Palestine.

Our people; our kinsmen; our brothers; the sons of Fatah, the starting point; our brothers in all factions who have had the honor of fighting the Zionist occupiers and who have offered martyrs—to you our kinsmen, all our kinsmen, we appeal for a brave stance that fears nothing in fearing God and that pays no heed to inducement and intimidation. We urge you to say your decisive word in this decisive phase for Palestine and Jerusalem, for the souls of our martyrs, for our sons and our future generations. We await your word and your prompt movement to unite with your people and your Arab and Islamic nation. May God's arm protect our struggle, our al-Aqsa Mosque, and our blessed steadfastness so that the conspiracy will not pass.

Our Palestinian people and masses of our Arab and Islamic nation: Your movement, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), has tried to stop the settlement train and the chain of concessions, and has warned the PLO leadership of their dangers, demanding that the leadership reject them in part and parcel, and unite with the Palestinian people in their struggle and resistance against the occupation.

To accomplish this objective, Hamas expressed its willingness to enter the PNC if it is formed by election, if Hamas is represented according to its true weight in the arena, or if agreement is developed on a political and

struggle program that governs the course of the phased and strategic Palestinian movement. Hamas did all this in an endeavor to stop the deterioration in the official Palestinian position, to drop the settlement and recognition program adopted by the PNC's 19th session, held in November 1988, and to try to adopt a struggle and political program which emphasizes our people's right to all of Palestine and to Jerusalem, its beating heart, in order to correct the Palestinian course and to stem the current condition of collapse and capitulation.

Our Arab and Islamic nation, the "conference to sell Jerusalem" is intended to take its full course and our Palestinian people and the Arab and Islamic nation are intended to pass the plot and to bless the capitulationist steps taken by some Arab regimes and PLO leaders. The dangers of the "conference to sell Jerusalem" pose a threat not just to the Palestinian people, even though they will be the first to be burnt by its fire, but to all the Arab and Islamic countries and peoples. The Jews are implanting their feet in Palestine and turning their eyes on the entire region. The issue to them is one of time and phases. This requires a popular and official Arab and Islamic stance to avert the danger. Our nation is required to have its say by rejecting the capitulation conference. Our nation must not allow some leaders and commanders to falsify its will and to drag it to its death.

Sons of the nation of Arabism and Islam, ulema of this nation, heirs to the apostles and prophets, brothers of Ibn-Taymiyah, al-'Izz Ibn-'Abd-al-Salam, 'Izz-al-Din al-Qassam, and of 'Abdallah 'Azzam, O hope of the nation: Your turn has come and the peoples are awaiting your historic stance to lead them to the right path and to lead their struggle against the invading occupiers. Let all the Arab and Islamic forces that refuse to relinquish the land of Palestine gather, unite, and make a serious and effective move at all levels to foil the capitulation conference and to awaken the nation and elevate it to the level of cultural challenge to the expansionist Zionist scheme.

Putting an end to the plotting against the Prophet Muhammad's point of departure to heaven and against the Muslims' first holy place is a definite Islamic duty of all Muslims in the world. All the Arab and Islamic peoples and movements must proceed immediately to perform their desired and expected role in the decisive fateful battle against Jews, the enemies of God and humanity. Our battle is the battle of the Islamic nation with all its capabilities, resources, and civilization against the Jews with their ambitions and schemes. Our Palestinian people are nothing but the struggle spearhead, backed with inexhaustible support by the Islamic nation and by a tremendous and endless army [to liberate] al-Aqsa.

O free men of the world, our Palestinian people reject the injustice that has been inflicted upon them for decades. Consequently, they reject a settlement that does not lift the injustice but rather entrenches it.

The settlement currently projected is in contrast with a peace that restores rights to those entitled to them. If this settlement is imposed, it will not last, because our people reject injustice and they will continue to fight it generation after generation. We expect all the justice- and peace-loving humanitarian forces to play their role in supporting our just cause and to contribute to lifting injustice and aggression from our people so that they can resume their cultural role in developing mankind and bringing it happiness.

Our struggling people, O masses of our Arab and Islamic nation:

We in the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), and the steadfast and struggling Palestinian people inside and outside Palestine along with us, emphasize that we reject the plot to sell Jerusalem and reaffirm that we cling to our right to our land and our al-Aqsa. We declare with utter clarity that in its current structure, the PNC does not represent all the influential forces that lead the bloody daily struggle against the occupation and its instrument of suppression, that it is not eligible or empowered to make a decision representing the Palestinian people and that nobody whomsoever, be it a council, an organization, a state, or an individual, is entitled to cede or relinquish any part of Palestine, regardless of the conditions and circumstances.

Our Palestinian people everywhere: The major plot that is planned to be imposed on us dictates that all of us take a stance that sets matters aright and that voids what is false with God's might. This is why Hamas, your movement and the movement of all the Palestinian people, calls for:

First, rejecting the "conference to sell Palestine" and its heart, Jerusalem, expressing this rejection with all the possible means, and reaffirming our right to Palestine, complete and undiminished. Jerusalem belongs to us, and so do Haifa, Jaffa, Lod, al-Ramlah, Hebron, Nablus, and Gaza. They all belong to us and they will not belong to others.

Second, total solidarity with your movement (Hamas) and its triumphant struggle procession, God willing, and supporting the movement's principled political program which rejects the theories of capitulation, concession, and recognition of the enemy. Let us all stand united and fight with the same weapon and let all the concession and capitulation plots be smashed on the rock of our steadfastness.

Third, we urge our sincere brothers in the PNC who refuse to sign the sale of Palestine and Jerusalem and who want to stay in line with their people—we urge them to boycott the council and to declare their rejection of all resolutions that are in conflict with our people's and nation's right to Palestine and to Jerusalem, its beating heart. This is the honorable stance that we expect of them, so that they would not act as a bridge for the plot.

Fourth, we urge our people's sons to carry on with the blessed intifadah, to revitalize it, and to ignite it with blood and fire. Let this be our immediate practical answer to the plot to sell Palestine. Let the entire world know that the intifadah continues and that it will never be the subject of bargaining.

Our struggling Palestinian people, masses of our Arab and Islamic nation: The state of weakness and retreat being experienced by our nation in this phase will not last long. The nation of the Koran and jihad will rise again this time as it has risen after all the periods of weakness and defeat it had experienced throughout its long history.

Firmness, steadfastness, and adherence to rights, all rights, is what is required, regardless of the cost and sacrifices. By refusing to participate in the PNC, Hamas and its bases at home and abroad simply reflect the genuine position of our people and of Muslims in all parts of the world, who reject humiliation as they reject relinquishing a single grain of Palestine's soil. The war between us and the occupying enemy will continue with its ups and downs. Times change and victory is coming. It is coming, God willing.

"God will certainly aid those who aid His (cause)" [Koran 22:40].
Allah is great and victory belongs to the struggling believers.
Monday, 23 September 1991, corresponding to 15 Rabi' al-Awwal 1412 Hijra
The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), Palestine

'Arafat on Peace Efforts, 'Joint Arab Delegation'

JN1610105191 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 16 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Tunis—During a Fatah Revolutionary Council meeting in Tunis the day before yesterday, and during another meeting for Fatah members in the popular Palestinian organizations, PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat said that the United States has solved the issue of not placing the Palestinian flag on the peace conference table by electing to not place flags in front of any delegation.

During the meeting he reviewed the contacts the PLO and the delegation from the occupied territories had in Amman, Algiers, Cairo, Moscow, and Washington. He said that he requested that the delegation from the occupied territories leave for Jerusalem immediately after Baker demanded that the PLO name seven people to serve as members of the joint delegation, in addition to other reserve members. Following this, he received telephone calls from Dr. Usamah al-Baz, the Egyptian president's political adviser, Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, and Mr. Hasib al-Sabbagh, a well-known Palestinian figure. He said that the Soviet ambassador has also visited him, and that all these people were unanimous in agreeing that threats from the U.S. Administration against the PLO do not exist.

He added that the Soviet ambassador in Tunis promised that he would convey to his government his ['Arafat's] proposal regarding linkage between the restoration of Soviet relations with Israel and the resumption of the Palestinian-U.S. dialogue.

He revealed that he asked Libyan President Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi to convince Syria and Egypt to agree to go to the conference with a joint Arab delegation, and that he guarantees Jordan's approval of this.

Meets Envoys, Reviews Representation

JN1610181691 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Brother Abu-'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], president of the state of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, yesterday successively received USSR Ambassador Boris Shchiborin, French Ambassador Alain Grenier, British Ambassador (Steven Ben), the Netherlands and Portuguese ambassadors, and the Italian, EC, and Chinese charge d'affaires. The brother president reviewed the obstacles to Palestinian participation and representation at the peace conference. Through these obstacles, he said, some U.S. circles are trying to peddle the Israeli conditions with respect to the composition of the delegation and Jerusalem in terms of representation and as a topic. He referred to the crime of continued settlement activity and the attempt to ignore the Palestinian people's national political rights as stipulated by international legitimacy.

The meetings were attended by Dr. (?Sami) Musallam, head of the president's office, and brother Hayil al-Fahum, head of the Europe section in the Political Department.

PLO Awaiting Syrian 'Green Light' on Talks

LD1610202591 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] A Palestinian source in Tunis has stated that the PLO is waiting for the Syrian green light before sending a PLO executive committee delegation to Damascus to discuss bases of coordination and cooperation on the eve of the peace conference.

The delegation will include Brother Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO political department; Brothers Shafiq al-Hut, 'Abd al-Rahim Malluh, and Muhammad Zuhdi al-Nashashibi.

The source explained that the visit is of special importance after the emergence of two points in the Syrian stance: the refusal to start a bilateral path in the peace process and the repeated call by Damascus for holding a coordination meeting embracing the five states concerned in the conflict.

Algeria

Partial Government Reshuffle Announced

LD1610200391 Algiers ENTV Television Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] The president announced in a statement issued today that in accordance with a proposal from the prime minister, President of the Republic Chadli Bendjedid has agreed on a partial reshuffle of the government.

In accordance with this reshuffle, Sid Ahmed Ghozali, the prime minister, is entrusted with duties of minister of economy; Larbi Belkhair is appointed minister of the interior and local communities; Boubakr Belkaid is appointed minister of information; Mohamed Salah Mentouri is appointed minister of health and social affairs; Abdelaziz Ziari is appointed minister of labor; Ali Haroun is appointed Minister of human rights; Larbi Dmagh El-Atrouss is appointed minister of culture; Mrs. Anissa Ben Amer is appointed minister of vocational training and employment.

The president of the republic has also appointed Abdelaziz Khelaf as secretary general of the Presidency and Mr. Abdellatif Rahal as permanent delegate to UNESCO.

President Bendjedid Addresses Nation 15 Oct

LD1510202391 Algiers ENTV Television Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Address to the nation by President Chadli Bendjedid on 15 October—recorded]

[Text] O citizens, men and women: Algeria continues its march toward progress, determined to occupy its place in an age in which the world is witnessing quick changes and transformations. In response to your expectations, we began a few years ago a process of comprehensive reforms, which I undertook before you to continue and complete, God willing. Your endorsement of the 23 February Constitution is but a confirmation of the will for drastic change. You have expressed on those occasions your eagerness to consolidate the work which we had embarked upon, and we found in this encouragement to continue our march.

The democratic process progresses, the transitional period has been full of action since pluralism entered the political arena, and democracy has become an optimum way of running the affairs of the nation and keeping abreast of the age. As for the economic field, this is manifested in the rehabilitation of effectiveness within the context of a comprehensive plan. Among the positive aspects of this stage is that human rights have imposed themselves, and freedom of expression has recorded tangible progress. The separation of powers is day by day becoming a tangible reality, and openness is increasingly manifested in spoken words and deeds. Also, many political parties and associations have been formed of late, but this pluralism will bear fruit only if the actions of all are characterized by responsibility and the supreme interest is placed above personal ambitions, no matter how legitimate, and all accept the dictates of the constitution and law.

The deep social changes and transformations witnessed by Algeria were accompanied at the same time by some negative forms of behavior. The march forward was also hampered by conflicting burdens that sometimes led to the emergence of political and social problems known to all.

The extremism in expression and the occasional resort to violence which we witnessed have made the citizen fear for the newly emerging democracy, for the stability of the country, and for the institutions of the state. This is what happens whenever certain people attempt to impose their will over others, and when the only aim of some others is to reach the seats of power and hang on to them at any cost, through means different from those specified by the Constitution and allowed by law—that is, by seeking authority from the people and sincerely accepting the principle of assuming power in turn.

In this context, my position was and is still clear and firm. Since the doors of democracy are open to everyone, the people will not accept and the state will also not tolerate irresponsible behavior which is outside the Constitution and law, contradicts the popular will, and does not respect the principle of free choice for the people and equality for all Algerians.

Citizens, it is necessary for all political and nonpolitical societies to participate in the work toward the fulfillment of the aim of building a correct democratic society and of getting Algeria out of its current crisis in an atmosphere which secures dignity for the citizens and social peace, and which relies on Arab Islamic values, our ancient heritage, and the mobilization of the country's human and natural resources.

Reality demands that we gather our forces in order to confront our real enemy, which is the economic crisis. We should, before anything, else, combat our real enemy by rehabilitating work. This means lifting restrictions from the citizen in order to free his internal resources and creative initiative.

In these critical times, the national interest requires greater seriousness and effectiveness by avoiding unconstructive and destructive criticism, calumny, and insults; and avoiding the violation of the symbols of the revolution, the violation of whatever the people hold sacred, and the violation of the state institutions.

We will always stand by the sincere patriots who are vigilant for the supreme interest of the nation and who work sincerely to bring Algeria out of the current crisis. At the same time that the government is embarking on the organization of the elections, it is also working to confront a difficult socioeconomic crisis. It has

embarked on confronting it firmly, adopting the language of transparency and reality, and pursuing consultation with all economic and social partners. We are confident that only through dialogue and the language of transparency will the government win the cooperation of all partners and their necessary contribution to the accomplishment of its tasks. Let us all work for the coming months to be months of restored national solidarity—solidarity in the exertion of effort; solidarity in the distribution of income; solidarity in dealing with the economic crisis; and solidarity for the protection and helping of the more deprived citizen.

O citizens, men and women. I want to mention in particular our youth, who should be the pillar of the reform plan, because youth is its first concern. Therefore, we must conduct a dialogue with the youth and explain to them that Algeria needs all its sons more than at any other time in the past. Our youth want only their energies to be liberated, room for their initiatives to be made, and the horizon before them to be widened so as to facilitate their integration in the productive cycle. All this in order to prevent our youth from remaining exposed to negative influences, which push them to illusion and pessimism, shake their attachement to the homeland, and make them lose confidence in themselves.

Another word must also be said about women. It is unbecoming for them to be the subject of a barren discussion, and for their cause to become a source of discord and sedition. Woman is the mother, the wife, the daughter and the comrade-in-arms, and she has her place and full role in the building of the future.

O citizens, men and women. We also want to address sincere greetings to one of the major institutions in the country, which expressed its deep awareness of the national duty—the National People's Army, which has quickly adjusted to the new constitutional situation and proved its attachement to constitutional legitimacy and the values of the republic. We should also insist on the spirit of responsibility that prevailed during the functioning of the People's National Assembly during the recent period which was engulfed in difficult, and critical political circumstances.

Fellow compatriots, men and women. The Algerian people, the source of every authority and the owner of sovereignty, is called upon once more to express its will by appointing its representatives in a new People's National Assembly, for the first time within the framework of multiplicity. It is inevitable that we should all work so that these elections be national, collective and glowing elections. It is inevitable, too, that the factors of unification should overcome the factors of disunity and dispersion. Let us be inspired in our behavior by the tolerant Islamic values.

Brothers and sisters, Islam was and still is, as far as our people are concerned, the strongest factor of unification and cohesion. It cannot become an element of contention and contradiction. As far as I am concerned I will remain as committed to my undertakings as I have always been, and will work as I have always done for the protection of the path of the current reforms, and confront all attempts aimed at obstructing them, using in the process all means authorized by the law in the protection of the Constitution and in manifestation of the national unity.

It is inevitable that the elections be organized under the umbrella of total respect for the citizen's right to free expression of his will, without pressure, threat, or intimidation. Within this framework, the parties and nominees should ensure that the election campaign and the voting process are conducted in an atmosphere of calm, mutual respect, and moderation. The state will ensure the imposition of respect for the law and guarantee the neutrality of the administration. It will also work to protect the individual and collective freedoms and the application of the law against all excesses.

Fellow compatriots, men and women: We hereby officially announce that the legislative elections will be held on Thursday, 26 December 1991. The sons of this nation should exercise their constitutional right with total freedom and responsibility.

May God render us and you successful for the good of the country and people. God is the provider of success. God's peace and mercy and blessings be upon you.

Parties React to Election Announcement

LD1610172691 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic 1200 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Reactions by political parties in response to the announcement by the president of the republic setting the date for legislative elections range from agreeing to hold the elections on this date to feeling forced to embark on this election campaign within the framework of the new electoral law.

To begin with, let us listen to the position of the National Liberation Front [FLN].

[Begin recording] [Unidentified FLN spokesman] We would like to express our satisfaction and happiness regarding the setting of a date for the legislative elections, because we believe that this will enable us to pursue a democratic process and solve the pending problems with regard to the administration of the government.

Second, we would like to hail the valuable instructions included in the speech by the president of the republic vis-a-vis exercising democracy and the need to have a sense of responsibility during this particular phase in which the first multiparty and competitive elections are taking place.

Obviously, we will be committed to these measures and conduct and call upon all citizens and militants to

mobilize themselves to take part in this campaign with a spirit of objectivity and responsibility, and renounce and set aside disputes and problems.

[Reporter] Will the FLN keep the same electoral lists as before or will it review these lists?

[Spokesman] Obviously some revisions are being imposed due to a change in the political landscape. There may be instances that would compel some changes since the FLN Central Committee had adopted the principle of partial and complementary changes, but not whole-scale changes. [end recording]

Here is the Islamic Salvation Front [FIS] reaction.

[Begin unidentified FIS spokesman recording] As far as the FIS is concerned, we were not surprised by the date. On the contrary, we expected that the election would take place at the end of this year or the beginning of next year. Nevertheless, what we note regarding the speech, generally speaking, is that the language of applying integrity to the government and credibility to the army is evident, and that the language of continued threat, a matter that gives rise to the intention of clinging to power, is also evident. Also, it appears that there is a determination towards giving credibility to the government's plan and its stance regarding the women's proxy issue.

If this materializes, it would confirm the dishonesty regarding the implementation of political freedom and particularly the implementation of the principle of taking turns regarding power, because to apply the proxy system in this unconstitutional, illegal, and unrealistic form would mean depriving a considerable number of the Algerian people from casting their vote in these elections.

Therefore, we would like to register our reservation about such a step, and hope that it does not take place. [end recording]

How did the Movement of Islamic Society, Hamas, receive the decision of the president of the republic?

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] We believe that the announcement of the election date was a crowning factor following a period of disputes and heated debates regarding the mechanisms of the forthcoming election. This dispute was at the level of those politicians who govern Algeria, at the legislative and executive levels.

In reality, all that remains now is to see an atmosphere of security and stability prevail in order to implement the political and electoral exercise that is trying to bring Algeria out from a one-party system to a multiparty system while respecting the constants, values, and public liberties. In our view, the Algerian people have reached a degree of maturity and awareness that they are of choosing the people who would protect their national unity. They have also reached a level of maturity where they will never be fooled by the glitter of slogans that we hear from time to time.

It seems that the choice of this date was to serve some particular groups; there is no doubt about this; and as we know this is part of the political game. [end recording]

In conclusion, this is the reaction of the Algerian Renewal Party.

[Begin unidentified speaker] For the Algerian Renewal Party, the problem does not lie in a date or fixing a date. We expected the announcement of such a date before the end of the year. However, the problems lie in the method of making a decision related to electoral laws. We have noted that the National People's Assembly [NPA] endorsed a law that is different from the draft law submitted by Mr. Ghozali following his consultations with the parties during the two meetings that took place over the summer. The NPA introduced a different electoral draft which has become law. We believe today that the president of the republic is sending us to this election like someone who sends people to the slaughterhouse. Therefore, this proves that the decisions are always made within a triangle composed of the government, the NPA supported by the FLN, and the presidency. Thus, we would like to express our regret and condemnation of this method. Despite all this, we will take part in these elections with all strength and courage in the knowledge that they want to send us to the slaughterhouse. [end recording]

Egypt

President Mubarak Addresses Returning Troops

NC1510152091 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 0926 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Speech by President Husni Mubarak at a ceremony held in the Suez area on 15 October to honor troops returning from the Gulf region—live]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Brothers and sons, members of the valiant Armed Forces returning from the Gulf, brother commanders of the Armed Forces, compatriots. We welcome you as soldiers of justice, who have returned to the homeland after a noble mission which crowned Egypt with laurels. We welcome you as soldiers of principles, who have returned to your positions after earning a new honor for your Armed Forces and adding it to the history of the Egyptian military establishment. We welcome men who went for the sake of duty and principle, and who fought in defense of right and justice. They returned after gaining a high position for their country, which chose the correct, principled stand. Their country refused to keep silent about aggression. It participated in defending a fraternal people and contributed to the restoration of a country which the aggression had kidnapped. It put down a great sedition which could have led the entire Arab world to chaos and destruction.

Brothers and sons: Our celebration of your triumphant return, which coincides with the glorious days of the

October anniversary, is a true indication of the continuing contribution of our Armed Forces—which have performed their duty through times in defense of rights and principles with a spirit imbued with sacrifice, with souls full of dignity, and with a firm commitment to the supreme national interests. Their supreme goal is to safeguard the security of Egypt and the Arab world and to maintain stability in this area of the world in favor of people who aspire to peace, justice, and progress.

The aggression placed the Arab nation before a difficult choice and on the brink of a grave sedition which could only be averted through a correct stance—a stance devoid of whims and interests that rose to the serious challenge, and separated fact from fiction.

The surprise aggression came when the nation was in dire need of solidarity and unity. It came like a violent storm to undermine the values of the principles of right, justice, and religion. It shattered the relations of brotherhood, neighborliness, and solidarity. It blew up the chances for the restoration of Arab rights. This is because the usurpation of an Arab country on false and wrong pretexts gives justifications for others to usurp Arab rights on false and wrong pretexts.

In the midst of this gloomy darkness, the Egyptian position was clear as daylight. We rejected injustice and stood for international legitimacy and law. We did not stand by as onlookers. We neither concealed the truth, nor kept silent about aggression. From the outset up until the last moment, our major concern was to see logic and reason as having the upper hand, and to find that all realize the dimensions of a disastrous calamity which was posing a threat to our destiny. We hoped aggression would retreat to avoid bloodletting and safeguard the gains of the Arab nation and the Iraqi people themselves. To attain this, we made strenuous efforts which you all know. But our efforts were only received with rejection and reluctance.

Seeing that all the doors leading to reason and safeguarding pan-Arab interests were closed, your duty was to take part in defending the violated security of your brothers in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf and to collaborate with them in the operation to liberate Kuwait, because Egypt cannot renounce its principles, shun its pan-Arab responsibilities, or remain as a bystander regarding an Arab commitment which emphasizes the duties of joint defense.

The decision to send Egyptian combat units to the fraternal Gulf countries was an inevitable and irreplaceable one. We were never motivated by hatred or small interests. Our only motive was to draw the line between right and wrong. It also was to prove to our Arab nation, which was preyed upon by misleading campaigns, that Egypt was still loyal to its commitment; that it was delivering the message in all honesty and integrity; that it was shouldering its pan-Arab responsibilites under all circumstances; that it feared no reproach so long as it was in the right; and that it was not discouraged from doing its duty by false and deceitful campaigns, because its only approach is that which safeguards the higher interests of its Arab nation.

Brothers and sons; the Egyptian people backed your mission in the Gulf out of a clear vision which condemned aggression and revealed its real motives on the first day the decision was taken to send you to the Gulf. The greater majority of the people supported your mission there out of belief in Egypt's role and status and loyalty to genuine Egyptian values which preserved the role of leaders and pioneers to this people.

The false claims could not deceive the Egyptian people, manipulate their sentiments, or break their national unity as others hope. The Egyptian front, as usual, remained strong and cohesive, supporting the task of our Armed Force in the Gulf despite the trumpets of deceit and falsehood. Your performance there was a proud testament to the Armed Forces and a glowing indication of your adherence to the values of this great people. You participated as part of a huge international force that enjoyed the greatest technological capabilities in terms of quantity and advancement. You were at the level of the situation and responsibility. Everyone testified to your excellent capabilities in terms of preparation and planning and to your distinguished combat performance in the battle to liberate Kuwait.

The most splendid aspect of this performance was its civilized human nature. Your feet trod on Arab territory only for a noble objective: To liberate Kuwait. You were the refuge for fleeing remnants, who found in your midst good treatment and brotherly forgiveness. You were the correct example of brave fighters who performed the art of war and fighting well, who are fully confident of their capabilities, and who enjoyed the same spirit that filled our Armed Forces following the great crossing—the spirit of October—which was the spirit of glory, sacrifice, and bravery.

Some of our devoted sons fell in the war. Their pure blood irrigated the land of the Gulf. They fell as they were supporting a fraternal Muslim Arab people, whose homeland was usurped by aggression. They gave up their lives to underline the fact that Egypt will always remain the bastion of security for its Arab world, defending what is right, supporting correct principles, and defending everything that is noble and correct. I salute the devoted martyrs who fell while on a noble mission. They added a new page to the glories of our Armed Forces and raised Egypt's head high in the world as a beacon that lights the path of justice when situations get disturbed, a torch of light that dispels the darkness of the situation when danger increases, and a morning that brings light when the forces of evil grow bolder.

Brothers and sons, our meeting today on this pure spot of the land of Egypt and on the anniversary of the glorious October days, moves in us the greatest and most profound sentiments toward one of our Armed Forces' most magnificent moments of steadfastness, when the 3d

Field Army stood fast in defending every inch of the land of Sinai liberated by its valiant men and fought courageously to hold onto a land irrigated by the blood of its martyrs and onto positions on which Egypt's flags were raised. In doing so, it manifested, under the most difficult conditions, a solid will and unbending intrepid determination. The 3d Field Army, together with the people of Suez city, created an immortal redemption epic as it held fast to its positions in Sinai. [applause]

Greetings from Egypt. [applause] Heartfelt greetings to our Armed Forces, who in October achieved for Egypt and the Arab world a glorious victory that struck at the very roots of aggression, demolished the dreams of hegemony, restored the homeland's security and dignity, and paved the way for a just and equitable peace.

Heartfelt greetings to our heroic men who are still imbued with the spirit of October that defies the impossible, exhorts to sacrifice, upholds all great values, and defends a proud and dignified homeland.

A heartfelt salute to the great Egyptian people who gave lessons of love, peace, and civilization to humanity, who implanted in the hearts of their Armed Forces the values of right, justice, and goodness, and who have been a protective shield and a future light to their Arab nation.

May God give us all success. Peace and the blessings of God be with you. [applause]

Meeting With Libya Before Baker Visit Noted

NC1310091991 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0855 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 13 Oct (MENA)—Information Minister Safwat al- Sharif left Cairo this morning for Libya. In a predeparture statement, the information minister said his trip is part of the continued consultations between President Husni Mubarak and Libyan revolution leader Colonel Mu'ammar ai-Qadhdhafi on the fastbreaking developments and endeavors to convene a peace conference in the region. He added that he will also brief brother Colonel al- Qadhdhafi on the outcome of President Mubarak's talks with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad. Al-Sharif noted that these intensive Arab contacts precede U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's arrival in Cairo later today.

Foreign Minister Reports on Talks With Syria

NC1210194891 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1914 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 12 Oct (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa said this evening that during President Husni Mubarak's talks with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad today, they discussed all the issues connected with the Middle East peace process and inter-Arab coordination in the coming stage.

He added that they also reviewed the obstacles that must be tackled and surmounted so that a peace conference can be held as planned. 'Amr Musa said that the two sides examined the situation in the occupied Arab territories and the continued building of Israeli settlements there.

He asserted the need to foster an appropriate climate for the peace process, which must be founded on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the land-for-peace principle. He said that Egypt will stress these principles during the talks which will be held with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker tomorrow.

Mauritania

Military Committee Promulgates Electoral Law

LD1210144191 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The electoral law was just promulgated in Mauritania. The law, promulgated last night by the Military Committee for National Salvation, provides for legislative and presidential elections, but no dates are given in support of this. A ballot in two rounds is planned for the presidential elections. Candidates will have to be at least 40 years old and be of the Muslim religion. A mandate of six years is planned and this is renewable. As for the deputies, who will be elected for five years, they will have to be at least 25 years old and have to pay a deposit of about 200,000 CFA francs. Seven political parties have already obtained official recognition.

Opposition 'Very Critical' of Law

LD1210144891 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The Mauritanian opposition reaction has been very critical the day after promulgation of the electoral code. For the moment, the recently legalized parties are drawing attention to the advantages the authorities are granting themselves through a text drawn up without consultation. Carmen Bader reports:

[Bader] The most categorical reply is that of the Union of Democratic Forces [UFD], one of the opposition's more combative groups. We reject all that has not been subject to consultation, declared one of the UFD's officials, which also made clear the need for creating a transitional government of national unity. The UFD's criticism is, to some extent, that of the Popular Union for Social Democracy [UPSD]. For Professor Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Mah, the electoral code includes a draconian condition regarding the opposition, that of the future candidate's indispensible need for the support of 30 mayors or 400 municipal counsellors. For the UPSD official there must, before anything else, be municipal elections which would respect the new party political balance. Another issue that has been disputed is the electoral boundaries. For the UPSD and the UFD, these boundaries favor the countryside and do not in any way respect demographic realities. So, for example, Nouadhibou, the country's second city, will only have two deputies as will a less important town like Atar. Finally, the absence of a

timetable for future elections leaves the opposition very sceptical, as does the goodwill of the existing authorities to enter truly a democratic process despite the Nouakchott regime's insistence that it is doing so.

Election Law Changed 15 Oct

AB1510092591 Paris AFP in English 0515 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Nouakchott, Oct 15 (AFP)—Mauritania's military junta, bowing to pressure from the country's fledgling political parties, on Monday announced changes in the election law to facilitate running in presidential elections due next year.

Candidates for president will no longer need to obtain the signature of at least 50 mayors or 400 city council members, according to the permanent secretary of the ruling Military Committee for National Salvation.

Henceforth only 50 signatures from city council members will be required, one fifth of which may be from the same region, Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Lemine Ould Ndiayane said.

Earlier, opposition leader Ould Sidi Baba, in an open letter to the head of state, had denounced the law as unfair, pointing out that 200 of the country's 208 mayors were members of the Democratic and Social Republican Party, which backs the junta.

Six of the country's seven parties officially recognized by the junta had protested the election law.

Multiparty presidential elections are scheduled to be held early in 1992. Mauritania has been ruled by the military since 1978, when the Armed Forces ousted a civilian government.

15,000 Attend First Opposition Party Rally

AB1210205591 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 12 Oct 91

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] Reports from Mauritania say about 15,000 people have taken part in the first meeting of the opposition Democratic Forces Union in Nouakchott Stadium. Radio France International reports that the party demanded a provisional government of national unity and the restoration of the rights of expelled Mauritanians. Political parties were legalized at the end of July and the first multiparty elections in 30 years are planned but no date has been set.

Opposition Party Urges Support for New Party

AB1210095091 Paris AFP in French 1226 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Dakar, 11 Oct (AFP)—The Resistance Front for Unity, Independence, and Democracy in Mauritania (FRUIDEM, a black African opposition party), has called on its supporters and members to join the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), a new Mauritanian opposition party legalized on 2 October. In a communique to AFP, the FRUIDEM welcomed the creation of the new party and noted a convergence of views with the UFD on certain important issues, while it criticized the "serious shortcomings in its general policy statement." Of these shortcomings, the FRUIDEM cited the need for revising the Constitution to explicitly recognize the existence of nationalities and the affirmation of their equal rights, as well as economic and political democratization.

Morocco

Rabat Agrees To Role in Peace Conference

LD1610213991 Rabat RTM Television Network in Arabic 2030 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Communique issued by Ministry of Information on 16 October]

[Text] Morocco has agreed to participate in the peace conference on the Middle East in response to the invitation which was extended to it.

King Hassan Opens Parliament Session 11 Oct

LD1110204891 Rabat RTM Television Network in Arabic 1723 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Speech by King Hassan II of Morocco opening the first session of the second legislative year of the House of Representatives; in Rabat on 11 October—live]

[Excerpts] Thanks be to God, prayers, peace and benediction be upon our Lord, God's messengers, his family and companions. Esteemed deputies: Before I begin my address I would like to say with emotion that I can see here an empty chair, which is the chair of our friend and our companion in the struggle—our old friend, who is still our close friend, Mr. Abderrahim Bouabid. On this occasion, we would like to wish him from the bottom of our heart a speedy recovery, God willing, so he might resume his general activities and work in this respected house.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Gentlemen, I am going to deal with two topics in my speech today. The first topic will be on the new world in which we are living, or are preparing ourselves to live in. The second topic will deal, before anything else, with our national issues. Foremost of these are the main issues, the issue of our Sahara and the forthcoming legislative elections due to be held next year. [passage omitted]

In this regard and in the welter of this new development of the new order, I found myself, as an Arab citizen as well as a responsible Moroccan official, in the first seat or the first place in the efforts to restore peace to the Middle East region.

Thus I found in Washington, as I found in New York, a certain irretractable determination to pursue the peace process until its end. I heard, indeed not I alone but you as well, and so did the entire world, all us have heard, the speech of our old friend the President of the United States of America, Mr. George Bush. That was the speech he delivered on the day of our arrival. He affirmed that peace in the Arab East and within the framework of the Arab- Israeli conflict must be based on the following points: First, the implementation of Resolutions 242 and 338; second, withdrawal of all the occupation forces from the other countries they are occupying; and finally, the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to a homeland.

I realized that President Bush was fully determined to overcome all obstacles and to march forward toward the success of the conference during the bilateral talks between him and myself, and when President Bush reported to me his clarifications and interpretations.

There was, however, an important problem which was not solved at the time, namely, the position of the Palestinian parliament-in-exile. But hardly 36 hours had passed after our arrival in Washington when the Palestinians decided by an overwhelming majority to attend the peace conference.

To all the friends of peace, be they Arabs or non-Arabs, this decision came as a great good tiding which prompted us to think that, God willing, the chances of peace being achieved shall be 90 percent.

Why do I say it will be above 90 percent? It is because when I went to New York with a mandate from the Arab Maghreb Union [AMU] heads of state, who met at Casablanca the previous week together with the AMU foreign ministers, I met with the foreign ministers of the frontline states, namely, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Palestine. I gave each of them the chance to speak. I asked them for their attitude, in my own name and in the name of the AMU, of which I had the honor, at that time, to represent.

Here, again, I was delighted. I can say it publicly and officially: the frontline states do not have in mind any hesitation or any reservation to proceed along the peace process. If there are any obstacles or difficulties or barriers, I can be one of the witnesses and say that these will not come from the Arab states which are directly concerned in the matter. But they could come from the Israeli side.

This, as I said to you, is the thing that makes me reassured and optimistic that the Arabs, thank God, were in the confrontation and they were in the second line; and now they all began to speak the language of the responsible one and the language of the messenger who senses reality. This is the language of the Arab citizen who wants to gain the time that had been lost and who does not want to be blamed for the horrors of war and the negative aspects of war, but who wants his body to be tall and stand on his two feet, to raise high his personality, and look on with his genius to the century which we are about to begin.

I did not concern myself only with AMU issues during this visit. This is logical. But, naturally I touched on our basic and vital problem, namely the Moroccan Sahara, during the lengthy, frank, astute, and friendly talks between UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and myself—I say astute because the conversation was not between two equals who exchanged point for point. No. It was a conversation between decent people at the level of international responsibility and geopolitics and strategy. Truly, we sensed in the secretary general the objectivity, reassurance, and self-possession makes us feel assured about his procedures and assured that he will be fair in implementing the peace plan and the referendum in our Moroccan Sahara, with all honesty and in all straightforwardness. This is a good thing. I wanted to bring it to your attention with all certainty and all confidence and assurance.

Morocco must determine its role in this new world, which is building itself every day, this new world which is laying down a new foundation for building its new order quickly and with perfection. What is the level of the role Morocco wants to fill? What kind of participation befits its historic and current ingenuity? What kind of participation is in keeping with our aspirations and which we are capable of attaining?

You know that democracy has many interpretations. The important in democracy is not its interpretation or its definition. The important thing in democracy is the result. [passage omitted]

If the holy Koran speaks of abrogations, then it is more likely that there will be abrogations in the life of man. Thus what was a proven fact yesterday could become a source of suspicion today. What seems difficult to achieve today shall be within reach tomorrow.

Matters pertaining to the economy in general, to industry, to agriculture, to taxes or to the dealings among people should likewise be governed by the principle of abrogation and higher interests and the prevalence of the better over the good, as much as possible.

If we face the coming elections next year with the spirit that democracy was not a revelation bestowed on only one person—the revelation of messages has ended with the revelation of the messages to the Prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, then no citizen in any country whatsoever, including Morocco or wherever that Moroccan might be, no citizen, at the top or at the bottom, can believe that he alone knows the truth or that democracy was confined to him or that he alone was the one to receive revelations, directly or indirectly. [passage omitted]

If we review our ideas with a sense of modesty, realizing at the same time that there is not one single man in the whole of our Morocco who was endowed with all

wisdom, and if we adhered to patience and intellectual modesty and listened to the arguments of the others and tried to convince the others with our arguments, i.e one argument against another, then I am confident that next year and when the new parliament is elected, we will have laid down not the bricks but the foundations with which, we too, shall succeed in building the dome of our society in this new world, which wants to create a new order, a new order based on individual and collective freedoms.

The strange thing is that many people in Morocco and outside Morocco are astonished that there are breaches, or what they believe to be breaches, of so-called human rights. There are no breaches of human rights in Morocco. I shall elaborate, and this is not a claim: There is nothing in all our laws, criminal or civil, that is contrary or contradictory to human rights.

Implementation of the law made it seem as though Morocco was ignorant of and did not give any attention to human rights? Let us not forget that the human rights controversy did not exist four or five years ago. Who brought it into being? It was brought into being by United States policy in the days of President Carter; not out of devotion to human rights but in order to embarrass the Soviet Union.

We must be confident and proud of our laws. Moroccan laws were laid down in 1958 in the days of our father, may God's blessings be upon him, under the title of the Public Liberties Laws. There is nothing in them about assembly, setting up political associations, parties or trade unions, the freedom of the presss, the freedom of assembly—I am speaking legally not practically—there is nothing in them that should make us hide ourselves or lower our heads when we travel or live in a society other than the Moroccan society. [passage omitted]

Therefore, gentlemen, we have to welcome the coming year. Our objectives are as following: To regain our Sahara in a final and indisputable way by holding a referendum to confirm Moroccan legal and historical arguments. On this occasion, I want to stress what I have repeatedly said. I want to stress here on this occasion when the King of Morocco and the representative of the Moroccan people is speaking, in my name and on your behalf, and say: The homeland is still forgiving and compassionate.

Let me stress that when the referendum is concluded, I do not want there to be a winner and a loser. I want a Moroccan Saharan society that has wholly and completely joined its original country. I am stressing this while I undertake it in my own name and on behalf of Morocco, which is represented here. I say and I believe that this undertaking will be respected and will be the subject of the attention of those to whom this speech is addressed.

Thus we must welcome this year when our objective is the recovery of the Sahara. In the discussions which will take place this year between the legislative and executive apparatuses, we must not believe that responsibility has come to an end because new elections will follow. The validity of every decision by the government and endorsed or rejected by parliament, every measure, does not end with this parliament. You must all know, parliament and government, that what you will decide this year, next October, means that Morocco will be committed to what you have decided. This is despite the fact that some of you will not be present next year. [passage omitted]

We must finally silence all that is liable to divide our ranks and sap our strength, in view of the mobilization awaiting us from now until mid-January next year. We have every chance of winning the wager of the referendum. This is not a feeling, but a certainty. But for this certainty to go beyond our person, it must appear on our features. We must give up depression, because our political life has become very depressing. We must smile a bit, for the Prophet, God's peace and prayers be upon him, used to encourage cheerfulness. [passage omitted]

Tunisia

Tunis Accepts Observer Role at Peace Conference

LD1610230391 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Foreign Ministry communique]

[Text] In implementation of the constant principles of Tunisian foreign policy, which consist of attachment to peace, respect for international legitimacy, the adoption of the way of dialogue and negotiations in settling conflicts; out of Tunisia's belief in the necessity of resolving the Palestinian question and questions of the Middle East in a just, comprehensive, and lasting way in conformity with the relevant UN resolutions; considering that these questions always have been among the main concerns of Tunisian diplomacy since the 7 November change, and also in response to the request of the leadership of the Palestinian people and their desire that the Arab Maghreb Union [AMU] countries take part in the conference which is to be held to establish peace in the Middle East; and in support of the international efforts currently under way to convene this conference, Tunisia expresses its readiness to take part as an observer at this conference. This will be in an individual capacity following the example of some Maghreb and Arab countries, or within a collective representation on behalf of the AMU, with emphasis on the aforementioned principles and out of its concern that this conference encompass other issues, including, in particular, the removal of arms of mass destruction and arms control in the region.

Ambassador to Sudan Recalled Over Ennahdha Issue

LD1510184591 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1700 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Statement by an "authorized source" at the Foreign Ministry in Tunis on 15 October—read by announcer]

[Text] The Tunisian Government has followed with concern the continued support the terrorist gang—the so-called Ennahdha Movement—is receiving in fraternal Sudan to continue its plotting against Tunisian security and to harm its symbols and its constitutional institutions. Regrettably, this support continues despite all Tunisian Government efforts to enlighten the Sudanese authorities on the subversive ambitions and objectives of that group and to persuade those authorities of the need to abandon this support in light of the brotherly relations that bound the two fraternal countries; despite respect for the constituents of sovereignty and the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of others stipulated in the charters of the Arab League, the OAU, and the United Nations; and despite the critical circumstances through which the Arab nation is passing, which demand the rallying of everyone's efforts to close ranks and put the Arab house in order on the basis of solidarity, trust, and harmony. Those are the objectives which Tunisia has been unceasingly working to achieve, the Tunisia of 7 November, under the leadership of His Excellency President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali.

Indeed, what causes dissatisfaction is that the Sudanese authorities, which had shown their full understanding of our point of view and had affirmed their decision to stop their support and backing of this criminal gang, in fact remain bent on harming Tunisia by offering explicit assistance to this terrorist movement, disregarding all fraternal bonds and national and international conventions.

Therefore, the Tunisian Government has decided to recall its ambassador in Khartoum to Tunis.

Bahrain

Shaykh Khalifah Views Need for Gulf Security

LD1610114991 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 12 Oct 91 p 5

[Interview with Prime Minister Shaykh Khalifah Bin-Salman Al Khalifah by Bari'ah 'Alam-al-Din "in Bahrain"; date not given]

[Excerpts] ['Alam-al-Din] What is the scale of the negative effect of the Gulf crisis on the State of Bahrain? And how are you dealing with its aftermath?

[Al Khalifah] Actually the economic effect of that crisis on Bahrain was substantial. And there are specialized establishments—Arab and foreign—which have assessed the effects of the crisis on the various states and clearly pointed out that the economic losses inflicted on Bahrain as a result of it were very great. Despite that, we in Bahrain are satisfied because we managed during that experience to discharge our duty to our brothers and kinfolk in Kuwait to the best of our ability during the invasion predicament. [passage omitted]

['Alam-al-Din] We recently followed through the media the escalating crisis over the border dispute between Bahrain and Qatar. Your Excellency, what is your comment on that crisis?

[Al Khalifah] That crisis is on its way to a solution, God willing.

['Alam-al-Din] In your view, what is required of the upcoming summit of the Gulf states' leaders to bolster the Gulf Cooperation Council states' economic and military position?

[Al Khalifah] We in Bahrain believe that cooperation and more cooperation is the best way to realize our people's aspirations for progress and prosperity and bolster security and stability, which are the pillar and foundation of any progress. We sincerely believe that the recent Gulf crisis experience—despite its harshness—should make us all aware of lessons from which we all must benefit in order to realize our people's hopes at both the economic and security levels. That experience confirmed to us all that destiny and stability in the region are one, in the sense that it is a whole and cannot be divided. Thus, that experience has laid further responsibilities on our shoulders, and this requires continued efforts to confront the challenges and changes. The council has realized good achievements since its establishment. But the challenges imposed by developments are numerous, and the road ahead is still long. [passage omitted]

['Alam-al-Din] How do you view the security issue in the Gulf. How can it be maintained? By regional or international treaties?

[Al Khalifah] As I said, security is a fundamental and very important element in all aspects of life, and it is difficult to list its aspects of importance in a few words.

And the concepts and versions of security agreements differ from one state to another. This is because every state has its own circumstances and requirements. But the point on which everyone agrees is that to provide the factors of stability and security is the first aim which should be sought.

The Gulf region went through difficult circumstances which no one had expected, and there were ambitions and expansionist policies which revealed the truth about the aims of those who used to speak of and promote brotherhood and cooperation.

Thus I say that it must be seriously locked into a firm security situation through which stability can be realized for the region's states and peace can be realized for the world. This is because the negative effects of what happened affected all world states.

['Alam-al-Din] How do you view the U.S. and international efforts being exerted to resolve the Palestinian problem?

[Al Khalifah] The majority of the Arab states agreed on the U.S. plan and supported the efforts being exerted to remove the obstacles to that plan. And there is also agreement among Palestinian leaders within the framework of the Palestine National Council, convened recently in Algiers, to participate in the proposed peace conference. This means that there is an opportunity for us all to arrive at a just and final solution to the Palestinian issue.

And I believe that it is difficult for any other state to achieve what the United States can achieve at that level. That is because of its staunch relations with Israel and its ability to influence its decisions and stances. [passage omitted]

Kuwait

Hidden Agenda in Defense Pact With U.S. Denied

LD1310181891 London KUNA in Arabic 1438 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Kuwait, 13 Oct. (KUNA)— His Highness the heir apparent and prime minister, Shaykh Sa'ad al-'Abdallah al-Salim al- Sabah, said Kuwait's signing of defense cooperation agreements with friendly countries can only stress the fact that Kuwait was and will remain part of the Arab homeland, and shows that these agreements do not detract from pan-Arab membership but are aimed at the preservation of the country as an entity and guaranteeing its security and stability.

This came in the course of the meeting of the heir apparent and prime minister with the chief editors of Kuwaiti newspapers and magazines, and with the

chairman and the members of the Association of Kuwaiti Journalists at his highness's office yesterday.

His highness denied that the defense agreement between Kuwait and the United States has any secret appendixes, and said: "I stress to all that this is untrue, and that there is nothing secret in this agreement, and we do not need to hide anything." He indicated that the aforementioned agreement came about to face up to "any threat to Kuwait, its security, sovereignty and territorial unity, and to prevent the repetition of the tragedy which Kuwait had experienced" in the shadow of the unjust Iraqi occupation.

His highness revealed that "an agreement on defense cooperation between Britain and Kuwait has been drafted, and it has been approved by the Council of Ministers in preparation for the necessary measures to start its implementation". He indicated that French officials have also expressed a readiness to conclude a defense cooperation agreement with Kuwait. [Passage omitted]

The heir apparent and prime minister stressed that the question of the Kuwaiti prisoners in Iraq leads the proccupations and concerns of Kuwait, pointing out that this matter was a source of pain and worry for all and is the main preoccupation of us, all Kuwaitis. [Passage omitted] .

Shaykh Sa'ad also praised the great principled stance taken by the neighburing Islamic State of Iran in rejecting the Iraqi occupation from its very first day. He pointed out that the recent summit conference held in Qatar had affirmed the basis for the desired cooperation between the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] member countries and Iran.

He expressed his hope that this will lead to the bolstering and strengthening of relations between the two sides for furthering stability and prosperity for the region's peoples and the realization of their interests within the framework of the principles of good-neighborly, mutual respect and positive constructive cooperation.

Replying to a question about the countries which had supported the treacherous Iraqi aggression, Shaykh Sa'ad said: "We never thought that these countries would ever side with wrong against right and against the principles and values." He asked: "What has Kuwait done to deserve all that. Kuwait has always shouldered its pan-Arab commitments and its stances were the source of praise by them."

He described the Damascus Declaration agreement which was concluded among the GCC member countries, Egypt and Syria following the liberation of Kuwait as a practical model and good nucleus for cooperation among the Arab countries in the various fields.

In reply to another question on the practice of some media hostile to Kuwait, Shaykh Sa'ad reaffirmed that "repeating the subject has lost its gloss; its aim to harm the international reputation and position of Kuwait and its renowned concern with principles and values has become well known". [passage omitted]

His Highness called for submission of any information portending any practices "so that we can take the necessary measures which cannot be lenient." He pointed out that some separate practices which occurred in the few days following the liberation "we do not condone or accept as a civilized country which has respected the law and referred to it in all matters of our life".

However, his highness emphasized in a reply to another question that "to any individual, regardless of his nationality, who had provided help, of any kind, to the invading forces of the Iraqi regime during the occupation we cannot be lenient. Deporting them is the least that we can do."

He said that "it is time we translated the slogan of every citizen is a guard into tangible action." He pointed out that he has asked the interior minister for a study on the subject including determination of means liable to enable the citizen to perform his security role and to regulate cooperation between him and the security forces.

Shaykh Sa'ad refuted the reports that a new government will be formed or that the present government will be reshuffled, saying that "this report is not true."

Replying to a question claiming that the government was helping its supporters by granting them contracts for building and reconstruction, Shaykh Sa'ad said: "Time will show the truth regarding this matter." He added: "We are not used to such methods and we reject them, because we all form one family."

He affirmed "that all attempts to shatter the internal front must stop, and attention should focus on the matter that ought to be the center of of the attention of all of us, namely, the guaranteeing of the safety of the country, rebuilding it, and raising its position."

He stressed that the the restoration of parliamentary life to Kuwait was without question, and all talk that the government is not serious in working for the restoration of parliamentary life falls within the framework of the "trial of intentions", which is unacceptable. All of you recall this principle.

Shaykh Sa'ad referred to the Kuwaiti amir's declaration that the elections will be held next October, and affirmed that they will be held on schedule.

Regarding the participation of Kuwaiti women in the paliamentary life of the country, Shaykh Sa'ad said: Undoubtedly you have learned of the debates that took place on this matter inside the National Assembly, where it was agreed to refer it to an ad hoc committee for further study. This matter occupies the attention and enjoys the appreciation of all, and my views on it are well known and on record in the minutes of the meetings of the National Assembly."

Shaykh Sa'ad praised the honorable national actions of Kuwaiti women during the occupation, and said that Kuwaiti women proved their position and effective role in building Kuwaiti society, particularly during the crisis. He pointed in this regard to their participation in the resistance and the bolstering of steadfastness against the abominable occupation.

With regard to the government's plans for reviving and reactivating the economy of Kuwait, Shaykh Sa'ad said the economic situation and the activation of the national economy are being given priority just like other urgent matters.

He said that a committee of specialists in financial and economic affairs was set up two months ago to study this matter and that the cabinet will discuss their findings in preparation for drawing up a formula which could help to activate the economy. [passage omitted]

Replying to a question concerning the bolstering of the local press to enable it to continue its mission, Shaykh Sa'ad said this matter needed some study and we all are aware of what has befallen the press establishments and other establishments and sectors.

The heir apparent's meeting with the editors of Kuwaiti papers and magazines was attended by Information Minister Dr Badr Jasim al-Ya'qub; State Cabinet Affairs Minister Dhari 'Abdallah al-'Uthman; Cabinet Secretary General 'Abd al-Latif 'Abdallah al-Rudan and Abdallah Sultan Borsali, head of the department of committees and aide at the office of the heir apparent and prime minister.

Defense Minister Comments

PM1610130791 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 14 Oct 91 p 3

['Abdallah al-Shamari report: "Defense Minister Says: Agreement With United States Will Be Used in Event of Aggression Against Us"]

[Excerpt] Kuwait—Defense Minister Shaykh 'Ali Sabah al-Salim has emphasized that the agreements signed with the United States and some other states like the Damascus declaration charter are not a substitute for seeking to build up the Kuwaiti Armed Forces in accordance with the latest methods and military information. He said that these agreements with the United States or other states would be used in case of need in the event of an aggression against Kuwait, because Kuwait cannot build forces to match the Iraqi forces in view of population size.

The defense minister said in an exclusive statement to SAWT AL-KUWAYT last night that young Kuwaitis enjoy strong capabilities in all fields, especially the military field. He pointed to the Kuwaiti youths' self-sacrifice in defending the homeland's territory, protecting it against any attacks, and maintaining the country's internal security. [passage omitted]

Egyptian Prime Minister To Visit 21-23 Oct

LD1610080191 London KUNA in Arabic 1215 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Kuwait, 15 Oct (KUNA)—It has been reported here today that Egyptian Prime Minister Dr. Atif Sidqi will pay an official visit to the State of Kuwait 21-23 October 1991. The visit is in response to an invitation from his highness the heir apparent, Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'ad Al-Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah. The Kuwaiti ambassador in Cairo, 'Abd Al-Razzaq Al-Kandari, said after he was received by the heir apparent and prime minister today that "Kuwait welcomes this visit, and hopes that it will result in the further strengthening of bilateral relations between the two fraternal countries and peoples, and will help achieve what we all aspire to, in the interest of our Arab and Islamic nation."

Saddam Addresses Arab Popular Conference

JN1310202791 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 1902 GMT 13 Oct 91

["Full recording" of President Saddam Husayn's address to the third popular Arab forces conference in Baghdad on 12 October]

[Text] Praise be to God, who made it possible for us to assemble once again in the land of believers, Baghdad of the nation. [applause] Praise be to God, because we see the good in the nation, although we have never been in doubt that the nation will always be good. All of you, brothers and sisters, came to Baghdad to find out one thing: namely, whether Baghdad is still the same. I do not, and you do not, mean the material aspects of Baghdad. You wanted to make sure that the moral aspects and the determination remain unchanged. [applause and chants]

Brothers, before I elaborate on what I believe to be important to talk about in such a meeting, I would like your permission concerning a main point. Specifically, I ask sister Lubabah's permission to delete one of her proposals. I do not wish to intervene in the freedom of the conference, but I would like to express an opinion, hoping it will be accepted by the conferees. This opinion stems from our nation's traditions. According to these traditions, those coming from far away places—and I do not say guests—should not be asked by those coming from nearer places to give anything. I was listening to Mrs. Lubabah yesterday. In one of her proposals, she suggested donations for the Iraqi children. She asked those attending to make donations. I appeal to you to delete this proposal [applause] for considerations that have to do with your traditions. Abandonment of a part of the true traditions was one of the reasons why some people in the nation went astray.

I believe that this is a true tradition; that is, those coming from far away should not be burdened by anything while they are travelling. But when you return to your countries and plan to engage in any human or pan-Arab duty toward the children of Palestine or Iraq, then this is left up to you.

Concerning Iraq's children, I would like to say that all of us have been nurtured on our mothers' milk. I believe that we are stronger and more capable than the generation which is being brought up on the powdered milk that is imported from the West.

I will go back to our topic: We thank God that the nation fares well. By this, I mean that this nation is alert and determined to achieve what it believes in.

Concerning Baghdad, as my comrades in the faith and the course have told you, it is determined, faithful, and fully convinced. We now are more convinced and we more firmly believe that these slogans are correct slogans and that the objectives of which we have spoken are sound objectives. What should we give up then? Shall we say that the poor do not have a right to the funds of the wealthy? Shall we say that the Arabs' oil, the nation's oil, is not for the nation? Shall we take down the slogan which points a finger at the major deviations within this nation? Shall we take down the slogan of freedom and liberation, sovereignty, nationalism, and faith and replace them with other slogans?

What is wrong with the slogans that were upheld so that we may review them? Shall we say that Palestine is not Arab, and that it does not belong to the Palestinians?

The battle has clarified this and continues to explain all this. This is so because the battle is still going on. What has ended is only the fighting by the forces of injustice and aggression, the infidel forces under the leadership of the United States. This is the only thing that ended, or that has stopped but not ended. As for the siege that is being tightened on Iraq, it is the most odious thing. What is taking place against Iraq is unprecedented in history.

There were cases in the past when a group of countries opened fire on other countries, or on another country; but an unjust siege as this one which, besides the fighters, equally targets children, women, and the elderly, has never taken place.

We thank God that as a vanguard group of this nation, you still firmly believe that your nation has right to its side and that the opposite side is wrong.

You might wonder whether words and statements could be equal to the men's confrontation of the aggression with their weapons and tanks? I say that it is not permissible for us to be unfair toward the Arab nation with such a comparison.

Had the Tunisians, the Algerians, the Egyptians, the Yemenis, the Jordanians, the Palestinians, or the Syrians been in the shoes of the Iraqis right from the start to the moment of armed conflict, they would have fought just as Iraq did. [applause]

Thus we should not draw comparisons, but we have be be confident that we believe in what we say. We are determined to puruse what we say as a moral, faithful, practical, and principled commitment. If we say things in which we believe, and if we are prepared to live up to what we say in practice—regardless of the sacrifices required—the kind of speeches you make in this hall will be as effective and powerful as the missiles your brother Iraqis fired at the army of aggressors. That was the start of the aggression; the beginning of the resolve to launch aggression against your Baghdad was when the aggressors were sure that the words said in Baghdad were meant to be acted upon. If you utter words meant to be acted upon, brothers and sisters, your talk now and in the future will be as good and effective as the action when you deputized Baghdad to defend the values in which you believe.

It is not true, as some claim, that in the aftermath of the aggression, the Arab nation is in a weak position. In

certain respects—technically and materially—Iraq has grown less than it had been growing. But to say that the Arab nation has grown weaker or less strong than it had been is inaccurate and is looking at their immediate, material perspective only.

As for those who say that the Arab nation has become less strong, this is only from their own viewpoint. But for those who believe that with each passing day the nation acquires fresh strength, this is another matter. We in Baghdad believe that the Arab nation is now more powerful than it was a year ago. [applause]

Strength and weakness are about will power. Will power is about faith. Faith is about knowledge and finding truth as it is. It is about having faith in the method it has set for itself and then to work diligently on its path. The nation is alive and strong and its will is present and effective, and its aims can be realized.

Brothers, sisters: Let us ask: Have the enemies been exposed at any time in the past the way they have been exposed today? Has the mettle of the nation been revealed as it really is, the way it has been revealed today? Was the sight of the aggressive Israelis in the past shorter than it is today, from the standpoint of those who see the future within a more distant framework?

If we considered things within and an immediate, short-sighted framework, then we would say that the nation has sustained losses in certain facets—and this is true—of its material capabilities. This is a fact. But is it right to assess things on the basis of one facet of our outlook on life or our outlook on time?

I do not think that there is one person who understands the present and future in Israel and who is not worried about the future of Israel as the aggressive, expansionist state of affairs continues through the agents of those who are responsible for action inside and outside Israel.

When you describe danger to some people, they might surrender. These are the weak. But when you describe danger to others, and show them the road to salvation, they adapt themselves to face this danger.

The awakening we are witnessing today in the great Arab Maghreb in particular reflects the level of the capability that has become part of the Arab nation's life.

Look at the heroic people of the stones in Palestine. [applause] Have they surrendered? Look at the sons of your nation everywhere—the sons of the greater nation—wherever they might be, and notice the level of awareness that they now enjoy.

Some people say: Well, would it not have been better for Iraq to show allegiance and obedience, and accept all that the forces of darkness and enslavement wanted to obtain? Would this not have been better than the destruction of its property, this or that thing? Can we call a capitulating power a power? Can we call the funds deposited a wealth? [applause] This paradox is meant to undermine the Arabs' morale. They planned to deal a treacherous blow to the experience in Iraq. I am not saying the Iraqi experience. They were scheming to deal a treacherous blow to the experience in Iraq so that the experience and the cause along with it will die. There is a difference between the losses sustained without a cause and the sacrifices made to vindicate a cause. [applause]

Each and every one in Iraq is a cause. Each and every martyr, each and every drop of blood shed by a martyr who fell on Iraqi territory is a cause. [applause] Each and every child who is deprived of baby milk, and each and every old man who dies due to the medicine shortage is a cause. Your nation was in need of a cause worthy of martyrdom. Likewise, it was in need of strength to resist injustice at this level.

Right now, can you explain your cause to other world nations? This task is left to you. Do not compare any effort with a rifle muzzle in Iraq in a manner that leads to relinquishment. Let your comparisons strengthen your determination, double your sacrifices, and allow you to forge ahead along the road. Each and every Arab, or many Arabs, are bound to know many pen pals of God's slaves. Had each and every Arab written letters regarding the injustice being meted out to the nation, and to a part of it in this country, and provided them with facts on a permanent basis, each and every one of them would have won over to his side the pen pals to whom he wrote.

Let us ask ourselves the following question: How many of us have done this? There are some of us who know Afghans, Turks, Britons, Americans, and Indians. If each and every one of us sends letters to the people he knows to explain to them his cause, he is bound to build a bridge of common understanding between him and the persons he writes to.

These sacrifices do not match the sacrifices made by those who were carrying combat rifles in the Mother of Battles. These are efforts, however, that can produce results that could attain the high levels, for which rifles were used in the fighting in the Mother of Battles.

I am fully convinced of your assertion that we should concentrate on lifting the blockade first within the Arab nation. [applause] Here you have to compare and say to those who fear the ghost of Western injustice that by not abiding by the blockade you are being in solidarity with your nation. Nobody will open fire on you and you will not open fire on anyone. As for those who fear raising the slogan of lifting the blockade in their own country, how can they be in solidarity with themselves? And so the blockade will collapse when the people of Egypt break the blockade against Iraq in Egypt. And when the Syrian people break the blockade on Iraq in Syria, it will fail, and when the people of Iran break the blockade in Iran it will fail, and when the Turkish people in Turkey break the blockade it will fail, and so on with the rest of the Arab and Islamic countries.

When you discuss the subject with certain Arabs, they ask what we will do about the UN Security Council

resolutons. So, in effect, they are not very different from those who authored the resolutions to do injustice to the people of Iraq.

Arabs have gone wrong when they were faced with either of two choices: all or nothing. We have to take the example of the brick over the brick, and the stone above the stone that will make a building whose foundations are firm and whose design has been drawn up and the movement of all walls will be in one direction. When the food blockade is broken this will be part of lifting the siege, and when the blockade as a whole is broken, it will be part of the grand battle and will count as success in the major battle against the enemies.

Slogans, to begin with, should not be addressed to the United Nations, but to Arab rulers, [applause] when a demonstration is held in a given country with placards calling for food to be sent to the people of Iraq. Such appeals should not be sent to Perez de Cuellar, but rather to Arab rulers. Demonstrations must be staged in Arab capitals and slogans must be raised calling for getting food through to Iraq. Since what has happened could not have happened if it had not been for the injustices inflicted on Iraq by its next of kin. For your nation's very great resources to develop, I would only remind you of one thing: Had it not been for Arab funds, Bush would not have dared fire the first shot at Baghdad.

And without using Arab territory and waters as a theater of operations, Bush would not have dared to fire the first shot at Baghdad of Arabism and Islam. If we use only one aspect of the nation's capabilities, you will see how great this nation is. The spiritual background, and the great historical heritage, which educated the entire humanity, is sufficient for the true mujahidin to realize all their slogans, God willing. [applause]

Your brothers in Iraq made huge sacrifices, but they regret nothing [applause] because they believe in their battle.

Why did the battle take place. In brief, the battle is defensive-offensive on the enemy's part, and defensive-offensive on your part, on the part of your people in Iraq. The battle, comprehensive as it was, took place at the internal doors, and for the first time. It took place because the enemies realized that the nation would rise, and because the nation realized that if it failed to wage this battle, it would lose its chance for an upsurge. They could fabricate anything. In fact, they are currently fabricating things. Today, they passed a new Security Council resolution, although the subject of Kuwait, as a territory with presence of the Iraqi Army, is now old; the Iraqi Army has withdrawn.

Brothers and sisters: Convey our greetings and those of the Iraqi people to the faithful sons of the nation. I see that some of you speak as though you want to apologize. To whom do you want to apologize? Does one apologize to himself? If you find that you have energy that you can use, use it. [applause]

I will tell you about myself. I believe that the energies I see in the nation are stronger than I previously thought; that is, the extent of solidarity and sacrifice displayed by the Arab nation under its current circumstances is more, not less, than what I thought. [applause] Had the Arab nation been in a position to use these high energies, slogans would not have been raised. This means the nation is moving in the right direction. We know that the Arab nation became sick from inside, so, I was not surprised that the level of interaction, and the technical performance toward this interaction, was less than was possible. The battle is stronger than the technical abilities of the Arab nation, but it is not stronger that th nation itself, not stronger than the people.

Thus, if we hold surveys in Syria, Egypt, the entire Arab Maghreb, the occupied territories, and other places in the Arab world, we will find that all peoples are demonstrating the highest levels of solidarity with themselves, and the highest level of interaction with their battles. But in those same places, we will find that when things reach the technical level, and despite the presence of this giant—the people—the result is as small as a pigeon egg, because things are reduced to a decision made by some leader.

But if you transform the feelings of university professors, and the stands of the working class, the peasants, and the women of this or that country into a decision, this decision will shake the world. Where is democracy? Real democracy is to transform the people's voice into decisions. In any place where the people's voice is prevented from becoming a giant and instead becomes a pigeon's egg, this means that there is no democracy in that place.

Does democracy in Egypt mean that the valiant Egyptian Arab Army fights the Iraqi Army? If you now ask all the Syrian citizens without any exceptions if they accept the Syrian Army attacking the center of faith, they will certainly say no. I am not going to give names but I also do not curry any one's favor. In any Arab country where you see that its ruler speaks about big slogans but in practice does not do much, then this means he is not sincere in raising the slogans. [applause] If we hold a democratic referendum concerning all the slogans of the Mother of Battles from the remotest part of the Arab Maghreb to the most remote part of the Arab east, we will see that the majority of this nation supports these slogans. Will Bush accept such a referendum? If so, we will hold this referendum now, after all that has taken place. We will hold a referendum, but not a referendum by the suspect committees. We will hold a referendum of those who believe in their country. [applause]

The battle is an answer to questions, a frank reply. The questions are in the resolutions of your conference. To speak about solidarity with Iraq should be placed by you within a very precise resolution because it is formal. Solidarity is not with Iraq. Solidarity is with yourselves. The battle is yours. It is the battle for what is right. If the institutions and rulers in your countries explicitly respond to the slogans that you raise and if they seriously

implement them, then this is what is required and you should make them your leaders.

I did not tell you such things before. But the time has come to dot the i's. This should have been done a long time ago. We have dotted the i's and we thank God that we continue to do so.

Those who say that they have made mistakes and that we should start from the beginning, we tell them we are ready to start from the beginning. Those who say that they missed the opportunity and that they did not know, we tell them that a thousand opportunities will be available to them. Those who say that the battle with weapons has ended, we will tell them that the battle against the individual has started and has targetted the children's milk, medicine, and food. We will tell them: You should not only raise the slogan of the food and medicines because the most important slogan is the breaking of the siege. Is the siege a legitimate thing that we are afraid to discuss and instead, adopt a stand by saying that the UN Security Council adopted resolutions which we cannot violate. How can this be?

This is the most fundamental thing to do. It is not an easy thing to do because it requires efforts and sacrifices. But the democratic and nationalist ruler who does not wage the battle of honor and dignity, the battle of faith and the pan-Arab battle to lift the economic siege from his brother, how can we trust him, whoever and wherever this ruler may be?

Brothers and sisters: We are in a situation in which the Yemeni can never be called a pan-Arabist if he fails to heed the interests of the Egyptian, Syrian, Tunisian, Mauritanian, and Libyan as he heeds his own interests. We are in a situation in which the faithful person cannot be called truly faithful if he fails to see the human suffering of a man or woman living in Senegal just as he sees his own suffering.

Our battle cannot be exclusively confined to the narrow technical framework of nationalism. Likewise, it cannot be exclusively confined to the narrow technical framework of pan-Arabism. It is wider than all this, even if it contains all this. It is impermissible for us to get lost in generalizations at a time when pinpointing specifics is demanded. Similarly, it is impermissible for us to turn specific entities into frameworks that are closed before the mind, faith, and potential.

In such a situation, all the blood that you have shed in this dear corner of the nation will turn into torches of light in the hands of the nation's sons to light the road. Likewise, all this blood will turn into torches of fire to burn the nation's enemies.

You should never accept anybody saying our hearts are with Iraq, but tell him: Okay, conclude this deal on Iraq's behalf. He might say: My coffers are empty. You know, etcetera. He must view the Iraqi just as he views the Egyptian, the Algerian, any other Arab, or the Syrian. If a ruler says: I am as faithful and pan-Arab as the Iraqis, and part of the same nation, but fails to share with Iraq part of what he has, his words would be lacking precision. Generosity is not demonstrated when one gives of the surplus that he has. True generosity, indeed, is shown when one gives of his posessions when he is in dire need. [applause] By generosity I am not here referring to acts of showing off, but rather to the generosity dictated by faith. Is not this argument sound?

While talking in this manner, I want it to be clear to you that your country, Iraq, can live 20 years under the blockade without asking anybody to give it anything. [applause and chants] Your sisters and brothers in Iraq are willing to neither lose their dignity and honor, nor close the doors to the future before them for the sake of a morsel more or less. He who sacrifices his blood to preserve his dignity and keep the doors of the future open is willing to continue to walk his path, showing the same resolve and faith to safeguard this course.

The Iraqis know very well that everything in this homeland would have been ravished, God forbid, had they forsaken that approach.

Do you see, then, how the broad sense of patriotism expands into another sense of pan-Arabism and humanity as a whole. According to this new sense of patriotism, defending the rights of your brothers the Palestinians and supporting them against Zionism is not only the defense of a sound pan-Arab and humanitarian act, but also the defense of a sound patriotic act as well. So long as Israel usurps the rights of the Arabs your patriotism remains threatened, even in the farthest part of the Arab Maghreb. The human and pan-Arab traits of the Arabs can never be ascertained in its true sense if Palestine is not liberated. [applause]

We have said—and the battle you fought in Iraq proves this—that if the Arabs are not vigilant, the day will come when Israel will have control even of children's curricula in Arab countries and will ask that the history books that are used in schools and universities be changed.

This is, then, the interlocking relationship between what is patriotic, what is pan-Arab, and what is human. We have to work according to this outlook. If we work sincerely, we will produce what is beneficial to the nation and humanity, God willing.

God bless you and may God grant you success in your efforts. The future is for our nation, and your enemies will be defeated, God willing.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

'Text' of Conference Statement

JN1410094991 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1415 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Baghdad, 13 Oct (INA)—The third popular Arab forces conference has called for lifting, without delay, the

unjust blockade that was imposed by the U.S. Administration through the unjust UN Security Council resolutions.

In a statement at the conclusion of their conference today, the conferees called on the Arab masses to exert maximum pressure on their governments and the decisionmakers in their countries to break the blockade through resuming trade with Iraq and securing food and medicine for its steadfast people. The conferees also called for the abrogation of UN Security Council Resolutions 706 and 712 to enable Iraq to sell its oil and to secure food for its people without impossible conditions or trusteeship on free, independent Iraq.

In their statement, the conferees categorically rejected the UN Security Council resolutions that have been issued through bribes, blackmail, and pressures that turned the United Nations into an American tool serving the greedy imperialist interests, using double standards in dealing with the Arab issues, and exploiting the so-called international legitimacy in favor of the continuation of the Zionist aggression against and occupation and usurpation of Palestine and the other Arab territories in the Syrian Golan Heights and southern Lebanon.

The third popular Arab forces conference hailed and highly appreciated the Iraqi people's legendary steadfastness and generous sacrifices, its capable army's valor, and the lofty position and defiance of the knight of Arabism and the symbol of its pan-Arab vigor, president Saddam Husayn, in his confrontation of the American-Atlantic-Zionist conspiracy and its evil objectives.

The conference expressed appreciation for the Iraqis' vigor as qualified builders, and their determination to reconstruct what was destroyed by the evil aggressors through national efforts and in record time.

The conference expressed its support for Iraq's territorial integrity and the unity of its people, and its rejection of the plans to fragment it and interfere in its internal affairs. It called for respecting its national option and adherence to its struggler national leadership.

The statement praised the new democratic stage in Iraq which is based on pluralism, freedom of the press, the new constitution, and the development of the experiment of autonomous rule in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The conference strongly denounced the evil and suspect role of the Tehran and Ankara rulers that is hostile to Iraq's national unity and conflicts with the principles of true Islam, the relations of good neighborliness, and mutual respect for territorial security and national sovereignty. It warned against the consequences of continuation of such a hostile course on relations with these countries and their common interests with the Arab nation.

The conference stressed its commitment to supporting the Palestinian Arab people and their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, in its struggle to achieve the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to repatriation, self-determination, and to establishing their independent national state on their homeland's soil and capital, holy Jerusalem. It also expressed its rejection of any violation of these rights.

The representatives of the popular Arab forces and parties expressed their pride in the Palestinian people's steadfastness and valiant intifadah against the Zionist occupation, and in the dear sacrifices of the martyrs, the prisoners, and the deportees. They stressed their commitment to providing all forms of political, economic, social, educational, and media support for the Palestinian people and their valiant intifadah.

The conference urged the Arab countries to abide by the implementation of the Arab summit resolutions regarding support for the intifadah; to form pan-Arab committees under the supervision of the general secretariat, providing that popular national committees should stem from these committees to bolster the Palestinian people's steadfastness under occupation; and to secure the necessary financial resources.

Attending the final session were Vice President Taha Yasin Ramadan and Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz. 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Abd-al-Ghafur, member of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party Regional Command, chaired the session.

Following is the text of the conference' final statement, resolutions, and recommendations:

Under the patronage of President Saddam Husayn, and under the slogan "Lift the Blockade Imposed On Iraq," the third popular Arab forces conference was held in Baghdad from 10 to 13 October 1991, with the participation of 1,000 personalities representing parties, movements, popular unions, organizations, trade unions, intellectuals, parliamentarians, political and social figures, and media men from the greater Arab homeland, thus embodying the unity of Arab struggle and the pan-Arab nature of the common destiny of the nation's Arab Maghreb and Arab East.

The conferees had the honor to meet with President Saddam Husayn and to listen to his valuable historic speech which stressed unlimited faith in the Arab nation's ability to achieve a decisive victory over its enemies, and full confidence in its bright future despite the evildoers' schemes against it. The conference considered this frank pan-Arab speech as its major document and a guideline for its future activities.

The conference deliberations focused on the following two main issues:

A. Supporting Iraq and working to lift the unjust blockade imposed on it.

B. Developments in the Palestine question, and supporting the struggling Palestinian people. The conference deliberations dealt with the far-reaching and wide-ranging changes currently taking place on the Arab and

world scenes. Similarly, they sought to examine and analyze the intellectual and political developments, which accelerated in our region and the world last year, in a bid to make the pan-Arab popular struggle catch up with these significant and historic events and influence them to help serve the objectives of Arabism and safeguard its rights and higher interests in light of the increasing ferocity of the imperialist-Zionist onslaught being unilaterally managed by the U.S. Administration.

The conferees believe that the pan-Arab cultural and liberation course taken by Iraq is the real direct reason behind the conspiracy targeting it—the conspiracy which continued before, during, and after the military aggression of 17 January 1991. Iraq espoused this course, became deeply involved in its thorny paths, and looked to see it yield high technological advancement, and a rebuilding of man on the generous land of ancient Iraq. In its cultural course, Iraq came in direct contact with the most important issue that concerns the Arabs in their contemporary history; namely, the Palestine question. It raised its voice loudly, calling for the liberation of Palestine, and protesting the squandering of Arab wealth and its unfair distribution. It forged ahead urging the Arab nation's independence, unity, and sovereignty over its lands, wealth, and waters.

Before the onset of the treacherous aggression, the features of the Arab state of affairs showed that some Arab rulers had chosen to act as obedient tools to serve the strategy of the U.S.-Zionist alliance, which aims to weaken the Arab elements of strength and their strategic assets, which lie in oil wealth, through the adoption of policies that are diametrically opposed to the interests of the Arab nation, as well as those of the region's peoples. It has been thoroughly proven that flooding oil markets with oil brought down oil prices and caused pan-Arab coffers to lose tens of billions of dollars, which could have been used in a comprehensive pan-Arab development endeavor had some Arab regimes acted in compliance with their production quotas.

Therefore, Iraq's confrontation of the Kuwaiti rulers was actually a firm confrontation of the plans of the unjust hostile forces. Because imperialism and Zionism had chosen Kuwait as the battlefield for aggression, the time, place, and direct reasons for the aggression were irrelevant. The aggression on Iraq was premeditated regardless of the 2 August 1990 incidents, which the U.S. Administration undertook as a cover to escalate the broad and ongoing aggression on Iraq.

The international situation prior to the aggression was characterized by a U.S. move toward establishing a world based at all levels on subservience and submission to one pole. Within its arrogant trend to control the world, the United States encroached on the national independence options of peoples and nations of numerous areas of the world if these options conflicted with its trend and interests. Hence, the United States sought to impose its strategy through coercion, and flagrant violations of a country's independence, and right to sovereignty and freedom. The U.S. policy on the Arab homeland was reflected by entrenching its strategic alliance with world Zionism through strengthening the strange usurper entity, its cancerous expansion, and its attempt to crush the blessed Palestinian intifadah, and weakening Iraq's capabilities and abilities by all means and methods to obstruct Arab national liberation awakening. Official and unofficial imperialist-Zionist alliance circles have waged a wide premeditated campaign against Iraq in particular and against the Arab nation in general after Iraq's triumph in deterring the Iranian aggression against it.

If the United States and its allies waged their mean aggression against Iraq under the umbrella of international law, and under the flags of international legitimacy and maintaining world peace and security, Iraq, through its peace initiative of August 1990, managed to present a profound view of the requirements of establishing just and comprehensive peace with regard to the Palestine question and the Arab-Zionist conflict through tackling all security and stability issues; foremost being, the danger the Zionist entity poses to security and peace in the region, and the priority that should be given to implementing UN resolutions on withdrawal from the Palestinian territories, the Syrian Golan, and southern Lebanon. The United Nations did not follow up the implementation of these resolutions. Moreover, Iraq exposed the falsehood and duplicity of the slogans and criteria that paved the way for the 30-country aggression. When Iraq presented its historical initiative of August 1990 on tackling in an integral manner all regional issues based on international legitimacy resolutions, the falsehood of the excuses presented to liberate Kuwait and protect Saudi Arabia and the Gulf shaykhdoms became more and more revealed through the new forms of the aggression, which continued after the cease-fire, as shown by the announcement of the inhuman weapon of starvation.

The development of events following the end of the military chapter in the Mother of Battles has proved the credibility of what was said by the vanguards of Arabism and its masses to the effect that American imperialism was pushing matters toward confrontation and toward preventing any Arab or non-Arab solution. This was so that it could restore its full hegemony over the policies and economies of the strategic Arab Gulf region, to plunder its abundant oil resources, to subjugate its peoples, and to chain them with aggressive military alliances and treaties such as the one Kuwait has signed with Washington, which turned it into a protectorate that entrenched foreign presence on its territory in collusion with the Saudi regime, which devoted its territories and funds against Iraq and pan-Arab security to pave the way for shackling all the region's regimes with total subservience to the will of America and its allies, thus exploiting, in the most hideous manner, the disturbance in the balance of world powers following the retreat of the USSR and the recession of its role, the

retreat of the European role and its subservience, and the spread of fear and weakness among the ranks of the nonaligned states.

First: Supporting Iraq and Lifting the Unjust Blockade From its Steadfast People:

The conferees closely followed the continuing confrontation with the enemies in the Mother of Battles since the cease-fire following the brute military aggression that was launched by the evil American-Atlantic-Zionist alliance, in which the Iranian regime participated in a mean and cowardly way when it sent its agents to kill, burn, destroy, violate women's honor, damage public and private property, and foment sectarian and fascist seditions. The conferees also discussed the conspiratorial role of the Turkish regime that devoted its capabilities and territory to be used as an aggressive base by the coalition forces to interfere in the internal affairs in northern Iraq on weak pretexts and under the cover of humanitarian relief aid. The conference decided the following:

1. The conference hails and highly appreciates the Iraqi people's legendary steadfastness and huge sacrifices, its capable army's valor, and the lofty position and defiance of the knight of Arabism and the symbol of its pan-Arab vigor, President Saddam Husayn. The conference also expresses appreciation for the Iraqis' vigor as qualified builders, and their determination to reconstruct what was destroyed by the evildoers and aggressors through national efforts and in astonishing record time.

2. The conference expresses strong support for Iraq's territorial integrity and the unity of its people, and its rejection of the plans to fragment it and interfere in its internal affairs. It calls for respecting its national option and adherence to its struggler national leadership. It praises the horizons of the new democratic stage, which is based on pluralism, freedom of the press, the new constitution, and the development of the experiment of autonomous rule in Iraqi Kurdistan.

3. The conference strongly condemns the malicious and suspicious role being played by the Tehran and Ankara rulers—a role that is hostile to Iraqi national unity, that runs counter to the principles of true Islam and the ties of good neighborliness, and that contravenes the mutually equal respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty—and warns against the impact of the continued pursuit of this hostile course on the future of relations and interests of the aforesaid two countries with the Arab nation.

4. The conference demands the immediate lifting of the unjust blockade imposed by the U.S. Administration through the unfair UN Security Council resolutions, and urges the Arab masses to apply the strongest possible pressures on their governments and decisionmakers to bring about a practical break of the blockade through trade with Iraq, through securing food for its steadfast people, through a resumption of the work of joint committees, through acts by the Arab chambers of commerce and industry to violate the blockade restrictions, and also through cooperation in various spheres to avert a starvation catastrophe, the spread of epidemics, malnutrition, and environmental pollution which are threatening women, children, the elderly, and sick people as well. The conference urges a revocation of Resolutions 706 and 712 to enable Iraq to sell its oil and secure its people's food requirements without impossible conditions or custodianship on free and independent Iraq.

5. The conference categorically rejects the UN Security Council resolutions whose passage was facilitated by the pressures of bribery and extortion that turned the world organization into a U.S. organ that serves greedy U.S. interests and deals with Arab issues by employing double standards and discrimination. This organ is using so-called international legitimacy in the interest of maintaining the Zionist usurper's aggression and occupation of Palestine and other occupied Arab territories in the Syrian Golan and southern Lebanon.

Similarly, the conference condemns the UN inspection teams' espionage objectives, and their interference in Iraq's internal affairs, their jeopardizing of its national security, and their infringement on its sovereignty and independence through a tendencious interpretation of the notorious Resolution 687.

6. The conference demands the mobilization of all pan-Arab potential as well as political and media endeavors to enlighten the world public and put pressure on world and humanitarian organizations to make them discharge their responsibilities and expose the imperialist-Zionist idols led by the administration of war criminal Bush, his allies, and agents. The conference condemns the war crimes, the immoral conduct with Iraq, and the vindictive spirit unleashed against its people and audacious army. The conference demands the denunciation of the U.S. onslaught represented by the burial alive of Iraqi troops in their trenches, as did troops of the evil 30-state alliance, and the bombardment of the al-'Amiriyah shelter, the al-Fallujah market, and other civilian areas by sending letters and petitions to the relevant agencies.

Second: Developments in the Palestinian Cause and Support for Its Militant People:

Given that the Palestinian cause is the central cause of Arab struggle and the core of the Arab-Zionist conflict, the conference discussed developments in the experiences of the Palestinian cause, the escalation of the imperialist-Zionist onslaught against the Palestinian Arab people and their valiant intifadah in the occupied territories, as well as the barbaric repression by the Israeli forces of occupation and the premeditated starvation and the siege operations in which, unfortunately, official Arab parties participate to undermine and abort the intifadah. The conference paused to examine the increase in the number of the Jewish emigrants to occupied Palestine from the Soviet Union and other

countries, the continuation of settlement operations, the plundering of the land, the Judaization of the holy places and the aggressions against them, which threaten the Palestinian people with mass deportations and pave the way for Israel to expand at the expense of the Arab land adjacent to Palestine.

The conference also reviewed the many forms of pressure and siege against the PLO to isolate it, cancel its role, and to suspend assistance to it and to the Palestinian people. This would prevent its institutions from carrying out their national duties, and would affect the livelihood of the families of martyrs, the wounded, and detainees.

The conference also discussed the inhuman and immoral crimes to which the Palestinian people have been subjected and continue to be subjected in Kuwait, which affects thousands of Palestinians in terms of killings, arrests, torture, and expulsions, and even rape. The conference also reviewed the state of affairs of the Palestinian refuge camps in Lebanon and the threats, aggression, and harassment they experience.

From the premise of its pan-Arab commitments, the third popular Arab forces conference:

1. Affirms its committment to support the Palestinian Arab people and the PLO, their legitimate and sole representative in its struggle for the attainment of the Palestinian people's firm national objectives, including their right to repatriation, self-determination, and the establishment of their national independent state on their soil, with Jerusalem as its capital; and to confront any violation of these rights.

2. Stresses pride in the Palestinian people's steadfastness in the occupied homeland and in their valiant intifadah against the Zionist occupation. The conference highly appreciates the Palestinian people's precious sacrifices: martyrs wounded, detainees, and deportees. The conference stresses commitment to providing all forms of political, economic, social, cultural, and media support and backing for the Palestinian people, their valiant intifadah, and the PLO. This will be as follows:

A. It will call and urge the Arab states to honor the resolutions issued by Arab summits on supporting the intifadah.

B. It will form a pan-Arab committee under the supervision of the general secretariat. Popular national committees will emanate from this committee to support the steadfastness of the Palestinian people under occupation and work to provide the required financial resources.

C. It will work to consolidate and promote the role of Arab popular federations, professional associations, and trade unions to enable them to activate their masses to support the intifadah through coordination and brotherhood with Palestinian counterparts.

D. It stresses the need to consolidate Arab official and popular media—press, televisions, and radios—to turn them into effective instruments in the service of the intifadah and and to confront hostile propaganda. This is through devoting specific transmission hours and special pages in the press to cover the activities of the intifadah.

E. It stresses the need to promote cooperation under cooperation and brotherhood agreements between various Arab and Palestinian cities, especially between Arab capitals and holy Jerusalem.

F. It emphasizes the need to promote cooperation between Arab institutions, such as Red Crescent Societies, universities, research institutes, and studies centers and their counterparts in the state of Palestine. It emphasizes the need to provide more education opportunities for the sons of the Palestinian people at Arab universities and institutes.

G. It will encourage and support the marketing of the occupied territory's products in the Arab world and will work to establish a popular fund for supporting the Palestinian economy under occupation. It stresses the need to provide job opportunities for Arab workers who suffer from the practices of the Zionist occupation, establish economic and agricultural projects, and invest Arab funds in the state of Palestine to contribute to the Palestinian institutions' infrastructure.

H. It stresses the need to work by all means to preserve the Islamic and Christian holy places that are facing Judaization, to maintain Palestinian ruins and heritage, and to enhance Palestinian folklore.

I. It stesses the need to form Arab committees to resist Jewish emigration to occupied Palestine and to consider it a danger posed to the entire Arab nation.

J. It stresses the need to provide protection for the Palestinian people in the diaspora in general and the Arab world in particular in order to pool Palestinian resources and help each Palestinian pay the liberation tax.

K. The conference calls for family integration between Arab families in the Arab homeland and the Palestinian families under occupation and for creating vital bonds between the two families.

3. Affirms the need to support and strengthen national unity among Palestinian revolutionary forces, as well as the unity of the Palestinian people inside the occupied homeland and in the diaspora, and to confront all conspiratorial schemes aimed at separating the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories.

4. Affirms respect for the independence of the legitimate Palestinian institutions and independent Palestinian decisionmaking, and the need to oppose any attempt to intervene in internal Palestinian affairs.

5. Affirms the need to strengthen cohesion among the Arab national liberation movements and the PLO within

the framework of the national liberation struggle, since the Arab national liberation battle is indivisible.

6. Affirms adherence to the Arab identity of holy Jerusalem, the first qibla, the point from which Prophet Muhammad ascended to heaven, and the cradle of Jesus Christ; and stresses that the liberation of Jerusalem is the responsibility of all free and honorable people in the world.

7. Affirms adherence to the comprehensive solution of the Arab-Zionist conflict in a manner that guarantees Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including holy Jerusalem, and the achievement of the Palestinian people's national inalienable rights. The conference further calls on all Arab parties to coordinate and unify their efforts to face U.S. and Zionist schemes aimed at imposing separate solutions. The conference also denounces any Arab party that gets involved in a separate solution at the expense of other pan-Arab rights and holds it responsible before the nation and history.

8. Affirms the need to implement the international legitimacy's resolutions pertaining to the Arab-Zionist conflict. It denounces the U.S. policy aimed at trespassing these resolutions and applying double standards in dealing with the international resolutions. The conference calls on the world community to protect the international institutions and their resolutions from U.S. hegemony.

9. Denounces the immigration by Soviet and other Jews to occupied Palestine in view of the threats posed by this immigration against Palestinian and Arab land, and against the Arab national security. The conference calls for resisting and halting this immigration with all possible methods and means, and for exposing its threat and dimensions to the world community.

10. Denounces the Zionist enemy's practices against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, including murder, detention, expulsion, attacks against the sacred places and the attempt to Judaize them, land confiscation policy, and the building of settlements. The conference urges the need for action in the international arena to provide the international protection in order to stop these violations and practices, protect Muslim and Christian Arab land and sacred places, and preserve the rights of the Palestinian Arab individual.

11. Affirms the need to expose and denounce the crimes that have been, and are still being, committed against the Palestinian people in Kuwait. It calls for an immediate halt to these crimes and for brining those responsible to trial. It farther calls for freeing the detainees and stopping the policy of expulsion pursued by the Kuwaiti authorities against Palestinian and Arab citizens. It also calls on the world community and its institutions to firmly resist these practices and human rights violations.

Third: Regarding the New World Order and Confronting U.S. Hegemony

The balance that existed between the two superpowers and defined the nature of international relations since World War II is now over. Events have confirmed that the collapse of the socialist bloc, led by the Soviet Union, was not circumstantial, but, rather, it marked a deep strategic transformation.

That transformation has opened the door wide open for the United States of America to rearrange the conditions in the world according to its interest and security requirements, as stated repeatedly and shamelessly on numerous occasions by its leaders. It also sought to tighten its grip on the whole of international relations through various means.

The United States managed to drag the most significant Western countries behind its Zionist-designed imperialist policy. Its arm stretched to many parts of the world, and flagrantly interfered, at times under the cover of the United Nations and international legitimacy, to impose its will on powerless people seeking peace and a dignified life, who refuse to allow anyone to infringe on their sovereignty. It imposed its domination on Grenada and Panama and threatened to deter anyone trying to depart from what it called the new world order.

That order is characterized by narrowing the space for decisionmaking in international politics, so that, in the end, the United States can take full control of it and flagrantly divide the world anew into two: the ruler and the ruled, whereby the ruler would have nothing to do but take advantage of the resources of the ruled and confiscate its wealth. In this new order, international bodies turn into centers for formulating the necessary resolutions for an aggressive U.S. policy and the language of brute force becomes the only language to resolve all differences among nations and peoples. And, in that new order, the myth about the humanitarian philosophy of the sly West is exposed. In the name of that philosophy, the ugliest crimes have been committed against our Arab people in Iraq, and in the name of that philosophy our steadfast people in Palestine are prevented from enjoying their national rights, at the head of which is their right to self-determination, like other peoples.

The Arab nation, which, with its ceaseless contributions, has helped to build civiliza[illegible] and the conscience of mankind, rejects that colonialist and hegemonic system that runs contrary to civilization and humanity, refuses to join it, and opposes its American advocators and their allies and lackeys, who unleash their wrath against the Arab nation because of its stand.

The crucial battle that glorious Iraq has fought with courage, firmness, and great sacrifices, constitutes an Arab call to other nations and peoples in the world to reject U.S. hegemony regardless of the price they may have to pay. It constitutes a clear call for all to stick to their independence and sovereignty regardless of the sacrifices they offer in order to restore to the world its lost balance. Many voices have been raised by free

peoples, like the Cuban people, denouncing the hegemonic and aggressive U.S. policy, and exposing themselves to the threat of aggression and destruction. But the will of the people inevitably triumphs. It is our destiny to be a vanguard nation, urging other peoples at all times to free mankind from tyranny, hegemony, discrimination, and greed.

To ensure the implementation of the conference resolutions; and in the interest of setting up stable organizational structures as frameworks for the political and informational activities to mobilize the masses and reinforce the unity of popular Arab struggle; and to ensure sustained contacts among Arab and Islamic mass orgnizations in furtnerance of a broad popular front across our wide Arab homeland; the conference has decided:

1. To set up a 57-member general secretariat grouping Arab parties and personalities.
2. To name an Iraqi to the post of secretary and to base the general secretariat in Baghdad.
3. To choose from the secretariat's membership an 11-member bureau made up of the secretary general and ten assistant secretries from Iraq, Palestine, Jordan, Yemen, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Libya, and Syria.
4. To set up national chapters in each Arab state to cooperate with the political, trade union, professional forces, and public figures and in countries where there are Arab expatriates to ensure contacts between Arabs in the Arab homeland and abroad.
5. To convene an annual meeting of the conference on 17 January to keep alive the memory of the crimes of the aggressive alliance against Iraq and the Arab nation.
6. To convene a meeting of the general secretariat at six-month intervals in Arab capitals as an alternative and whenever the need arises for a meeting.
7. The secretary general may seek the assistance of any member of the general secretariat to carry out his duties, including attending meetings of the bureau without him gaining the right to vote.

Strugglers, mujahidin: We are up against two iniquitous blockades imposed by the same forces seeking, in the final analysis, to slap the major blockade on our nation to arrest its progress, constrain its advancement, and break its will—the first targeted at Iraq, the second at our steadfast kinfolk in occupied Palestine.

The intent of the two blockades is one and the same; hence the unity of our battle and struggle. It all goes to show that we are in one trench against the fateful challenge imposed on us by our enemies.

They have designs on our land, dignity, and future. They have designs on the lives of our children and are laying siege to the milk of our mothers and they are out to bury life on our land and in the wombs of our virtuous women.

We have no choice other than steadfastness, work, and confrontation. This is our choice, and this is our only route, and without both we will have succumbed to their desires for our humiliation, indignity, and being out of step with the movement of human history.

Our bet on the victory of the Arab nation will prove well-founded, and it will defeat the banner of injustice and tyranny. God is great. Dignity to Arabism. Glory to steadfast Iraq, and victory to beloved Palestine.

The conference made a number of important recommendations, the most prominent of which were the following:

1. A demand that Iran return all Iraqi planes to Iraq quickly.
2. A demand that Arab countries holding Iraqi planes return them to Iraq, so that they can be safeguarded, and the Arab wealth can be maintained.
3. Brothers in the Arab Maghreb are urged to organize a land fleet to transport foodstuffs and medicines through Egypt and Jordan, via the ports of Nuwaybi' and al-'Aqabah.
4. Establish air links between Baghdad and the Arab capitals using civilian Iraqi and Arab planes. Members of the conference should start using these planes in their travel to and from Baghdad.
5. Provide the Iraqi Government with a $100 billion pan-Arab loan [figure as received] funded by the Arab people, in return for Iraqi Government bonds.
6. A call for a popular boycott of U.S. goods.
7. A call on expatriate Arabs to provide financial support for Iraq.
8. Issue a coupon named "The Arab Dinar for the Confrontation of the U.S. Aggression." Popular Arab committees for the support of Iraq will distribute these coupons in the Arab homeland and add the value to the fund raised through donation campaigns.
9. Set up central committees for lifting the blockade against Iraq in every Arab capital and city. Subcommittees will also emerge in all areas. These committees will have a proper and effective work mechanism.
10. A boycott on the ships, aircraft, and other means of transportation belonging to the 30-state alliance on 17 January 1992 by the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.
11. A call on Arab trade unions working in the fields of oil and its byproducts to stop the flow of these materials to the United States and its allies.
12. A call on Muslims wishing to perform hajj for the second or third time to donate the cost of the hajj to the children of Iraq.
13. A call on Arab governments to unfreeze Iraqi assets in their banks and to use these assets on the Iraqi people's needs of medicine and foodstuffs produced in these countries.
14. Urge Arab banks and financial institutions throughout the Arab countries to help meet Iraq's needs for hard currency by way of loans and long-term investments.
15. A call on rich Arab expatriates to invest their money in production ventures in Iraq in coordination with the Iraqi Government.

16. Consider 1 December, which is the day of the Iraqi martyr, a day of popular protest against the aggressors.

17. If the Security Council, in its next December meetings, insists on the continuation of the blockade, the Arab masses in all Arab countries will protest once again.

18. The popular commitees will in their respective countries hold marches that will proceed to the airports where they will stage sit-ins until their regimes announce the illegitimacy of the blockade and the resumption of flights to Baghdad, the city of victory and peace.

19. Form a delegation from the Arab communities in Europe to meet the Pope in the Vatican.

20. Let Arab children in their respective countries participate in activities supporting Iraqi children.

21. Invite Arab workers and employees to carry out half a day of voluntary work every month in the interest of Iraq's steadfastness.

22. Form a national group whose mission is to collect funds and look for scientific capabilities to support Iraq and the Palestinian intifadah, and to support the militant actions that contribute to hampering the enemies' conspiracies.

23. Issue a monthly periodical by the conference secretariat that will follow up on Arab devlopments; call for the mobilization of forces and potentials; discard marginal differences; focus on the importance of peace, given that it is the soul of this nation and the the one that inspires its values; and follow the developments of the aggression against Iraq in all its aspects and manifestations.

24. Set a date for the expression of Arab popular solidarity with Iraq. A proposal has been put forth suggesting 17 January of every year as a day during which the embassies of the countries of the aggression will be besieged, and on other days marches will be held in the capitals of Arab countries that will proceed at the same time to UN offices in these capitals.

25. Parties that have delegates to this conference and that share power in their countries should bring pressure to bear on their governments to have them declare their rejection of the blockade that is imposed on Iraq and work for breaking it.

26. Invite Arab parties and popular forces to use the papers they issue by allocating a full page daily for the discussion of topics related to the aggression against Iraq, reconstruction activities, the economic blockade, and to explicitly highlight the Arab popular forces' responsibility in breaking the blockade.

27. Coordinate with the forces of national liberation in the world, and with parties and bodies that are hostile to the blockade for foiling the blockade resolutions and organizing an international campaign to break the blockade, and considering 17 January as a day for international solidarity with Iraq.

28. Send cables and letters of denunciation to the secretary general of the United Nations, the Arab League secretary general, and to the countries that contributed to the issuance of the resolutions on the blockade and to its perpetuation and holding them legally and humanely responsible at present and in the future for the perpetuation of the blockade. These letters or cables could be sent individually, or collectively.

29. Arab lawyers and jurists union will set a day for a strike and to enable lawyers to file their demands for lifting the blockade before Arab courts, in addition to submitting legal studies exposing the illegality of the blockade.

30. Communicate the resolutions that the conference will adopt to the Arab countries' rulers through the members of the conference.

31. Invite Arab professional associations, trade unions, and organizations to carry out a positive and organized role to break the blockade in accordance with a program that will be agreed upon.

32. Put real political pressure on Arab regimes to open Arab borders with Iraq and to send medicine and food supplies to the Iraqi people.

33. Urge Arab press unions and organizations to launch a campaign pressuring Arab governments to make practical steps to break the blockade on the Arab level. Each union is urged to form a special committee to lay down a permanent action plan to support Iraq and express solidarity with its people. These unions are urged to exploit their contacts with world associations and foreign counterparts to secure support for Iraq's stand and to explain the objectives of the aggressive onslaught against the Iraqi people.

34. Set up a committee headquartered in Amman to work in coordination with press unions and associations in the Arab homeland to raise cash and in kind donations. Such donations would be gathered in Amman before sending them to Baghdad. The requirements for the continued publication of Iraqi papers should be provided through cooperation with Arab press organizations operating in the Arab homeland and abroad.

This committee will also facilitate the flow of information to and from Iraq through the Iraqi Press Association.

35. Request Iraqi media and press associations make available information and documents about Iraq's confrontation of the aggression.

36. Continue efforts by each Arab union so that the Iraq issue will remain a topic of interest to Arab public opinion. An Arab media campaign will be organized on 17 January every year for this purpose.

37. Urge Arab unions to secure jobs for Arab journalists and writers who lost their jobs as a result of their responsible pan-Arab stands on the Mother of Battles.

38. Urge Arab unions to gather all that has been written about Iraq in their respective countries and send it to the Iraqi association to publish in Baghdad.

39. Call for setting up an information committee emanating from the general secretariat of the conference to explain the steps and stands that will be adopted by the general secretariat of the conference until the fourth conference is convened.

40. Urge the Yemeni journalists association to host an activity with the Arab Journalists Association on the sidelines of the forthcoming meeting of the executive

committee of the world journalists association. Such an activity would be devoted to supporting the Iraqi people and demanding an end to the unjust blockade.

The conference presidency announced that other resolutions and recommendations adopted by delegations representing women, youth, intellectuals, artists, and human rights societies have been integrated into the resolutions regarding the blockade. The presidency announced that these resolutions and recommendations would be unified and that the unions and organizations that have adopted them would be asked to set up a mechanism to implement them.

At the conclusion of the conference proceedings, comrade 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Abd-al-Ghafur, member of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party Regional Command and chairman of the conference supreme preparatory committee, delivered a speech in which he praised the fruitful outcome of the conference and the generous efforts made by the participants to ensure its success.

The comrade Regional Command member said: Your presence in the Baghdad of Saddam Husayn, the victor by God, is a splendid pan-Arab demonstration which our steadfast Iraqi people enjoyed with their feelings. The Iraqi people are now certain, more than ever before, that they live in the Arabs' hearts and minds and are surrounded by love and appreciation for the generous sacrifices they have offered with all honor and loyalty on behalf of Arabism, which was targeted by the evil 30-state coalition with aggression, treason, and treachery.

He added: The Baghdad conference was a living forum that reflected the resolve of the nation's masses, from the west of the great Arab homeland to the east, to realize liberty, unity, and democracy. The final conference statement and resolutions and recommendations gave a serious and practical picture of the arrangements that the nation's masses and vanguard forces should take to break the unfair blockade, from which the Iraqi children, women, and old and sick people are suffering.

He explained that the conference results have faithfully demonstrated the participants' high praise of the stand of glory and loftiness embodied by the knight of Arabism and the symbol of defiance and chivalry, struggler leader Saddam Husayn.

Comrade 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Abd-al-Ghafur said: You have expressed your pride in the steadfastness of our glorious people and stressed the need to preserve their national unity in land and people against all formulas of imperialist-Zionist treachery, led by the administration of war criminal Bush, who symbolizes the deep hatred against everything genuine and Arab.

He added: Dear Palestine will remain on top of our priorities list and the focus for our pan-Arab struggle. Jerusalem, the al-Aqsa Mosque, and all our sacred places are threatened with the adamant scheme of Zionization, expansion, and settlement which our Zionist enemy is trying to implement to pave the way for establishing so-called Greater Israel.

He quoted President Saddam Husyan's statement that "Palestine is Arab and must be returned to its Palestinian people; there is no retreat from that slogan."

The conference, which began its proceedings on Thursday under the slogan "Lift the Blockade Imposed Against Iraq," discussed, over four days, practical measures to break the blockade imposed against Iraq and means to support the Palestinian Arab people's struggle to regain their legitimate rights under the PLO's leadership.

Shamir Considers Picture on Eve of Baker Talks

'Not Gloomy'

TA1610181391 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1705 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] One of the replies that Secretary Baker will hear from Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir tomorrow morning is that a situation may arise in which Israel will not go to the conference. The main issue to be discussed tomorrow is the extent of the PLO's involvement in the negotiations. Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir spoke with our political correspondent Arye Golan this evening.

[Begin recording] [Golan] This evening we accompanied Prime Minister Shamir when he flew in a helicopter to deliver a speech at a ceremony inaugurating a Giv'ati Brigade house near Negba. The prime minister is very alert on the eve of talks with Secretary of State Baker tomorrow, and he does not seem gloomy. We asked him about this, in the wake of press reports, and we also asked him about Beni Begin's announcement of his candidacy for prime minister. The first question, however, concerned the results of Secretary of State Baker's talks in Damascus.

Mr. Prime Minister, Syria has announced that it is not prepared at this time to go to the multilateral conference with Israel to discuss regional problems, but only to go to bilateral negotiations. What is your reaction?
[Shamir] Well, I will want to hear the precise details from Secretary Baker when he comes, and I will then express our reaction.

[Golan] Does it make any difference to us if Syria is prepared only for bilateral negotiations?
[Shamir] It does make a difference; it proves something. Still, as I have just said, I will make my reaction known after I receive their decision formally.

[Golan] Mr. Prime Minister, are you gloomy these days? Are you in a bad mood?
[Shamir] Surely not. I have no reason to be. We are dealing with important matters today, and they call for decisions following careful consideration, but I am not gloomy. I hope I will not have a reason for gloom either.

[Golan] Mr. Shamir hopes he will not have a reason for gloom in the coming days either. He naturally was also asked to comment on Beni Begin's announcement about contesting the prime minister's office after Mr. Shamir retires.
[Shamir] Well, that is a different matter altogether. I must say I do not think about such things these days. I am engaged in state affairs. That matter will come up in due course.

[Golan] Do you believe the timing of this announcement was correct?
[Shamir] I do not want to say anything. The time will come for us to deal with such issues too.

[Golan] Sir, can he be a good prime minister?
[Shamir] I do not want to say anything now.

[Golan] Do you have other candidates for the office?
[Shamir] We are not short of candidates.

[Golan] Mr. Shamir, the feeling is that the PLO is still in the picture, behind a curtain rather than overtly, as it is said in Jerusalem. It is there, however, and gives advice too. Does that not trouble you?
[Shamir] That does bother me. That is one of the issues we will have to discuss.

[Golan] What will happen if that issue is not resolved?
[Shamir] You can ask that about any issue. We will have to decide according to the picture we have at the time.

[Golan] Is it still possible that in light of the situation we will decide not to go to the conference?
[Shamir] Anything is possible. [end recording]

Future Peace No 'Bed of Roses'

TA1610163391 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir says that Israel is about to launch a process of making peace with its neighbors, but it will not be a bed of roses, as he put it. Speaking at the inauguration ceremony of the Giv'ati Brigade House, the prime minister added that some of our neighboring countries, led by Syria, have not changed. He expressed the hope that Israel will be as united as possible in this endeavor, both in readiness for peace and in the willingness to insist on its vital positions, just as it is united during battle.

Our correspondents Arye Golan and Nisim Qeynan report that the ceremony was attended by relatives of the brigade's fallen, as well as by former and present commanders and troops.

On 'Confidence-Building Measures'

AU1610104291 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2010 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Report on interviews with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, by Hans Benedict; place and date of interviews not given; Shamir and 'Arafat statements in English with German voiceover]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Baker and President George Bush consider Israel's settlement policy an obstacle to peace talks. They have called for a stop to new settlements. Israeli Prime Minister Shamir commented on the country's settlement policy in the following way:

[Begin Shamir recording] The settlements are the central issue of the discussion about territorial claims in the Arab-Israeli conflict. There is no doubt about that. The basic question is: To whom does the land that we call Israel, and that the other side calls Palestine, belong? We claim that it belongs to us. This can be clarified in only

two ways: though confrontation or through negotiations. Our proposal is: Let us negotiate. [end recording]

Shamir made it very clear what he is not willing to talk about: a PLO state and the withdrawal of Israel to make possible the formation of a PLO state. The PLO demanded that. It called for a guarantee by the United States that all negotiations should only be aimed at one goal—the creation of a PLO state.

[Begin Shamir recording] If the United States were to do that, the peace conference would not take place. A U.S. guarantee for the PLO would contradict all our agreements with the United States. [end recording]

The fact that PLO chief Yasir 'Arafat has given up his anti-Americanism and would like to present himself as a negotiating partner who is ready for compromise disturbs Shamir's scenario.

[Begin 'Arafat recording] Here is my hand. I offer it to my enemies. I am ready for peace. With whom do I want to make peace? With my enemies. With my friends I conclude agreements. If my enemies want peace, I am ready for it. In return I demand the recognition of our international legitimacy, the implementation of the UN resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Israel, and the realization of President Bush's initiative. [end recording]

'Arafat has adopted a double strategy. He quotes Bush like a new Bible, and makes concessions to the radicals within the PLO with his extreme demands.

[Begin 'Arafat recording] The Israelis do not really want peace. Let us recall a line of the anthem of Shamir's Herut Party. The West Bank and the East Bank belong to us, it says. [end recording]

[Begin Shamir recording] We will show the world that a peace conference between Israel and the Arab states is possible. What happens afterward, however, will depend on the participants, mainly on the Arabs. [end recording]

Referring to peace talks with Syria, Yitzhaq Shamir stated that he wants to achieve similar things that the West reached in its efforts to achieve coexistence with the East, including the creation of confidence, arms control, and later a territorial solution.

[Begin Shamir recording] I would propose first to end any kind of hostilities. We all must declare that we do not plan any hostilities, or terrorist or boycott measures against each other. We can select a range of confidence-building measures. We could create a good atmosphere for the peace negotiations. I think that it is possible at this point to discuss disarmament in our region. We would like to get disarmament talks under way. However, all countries in the region must participate in such talks. [end recording]

Coordinates Demands With Levi

TA1710065891 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 17 Oct 91 pp A1, 8

[Report by Aqiva Eldar]

[Excerpts] Syria's stubborn refusal to attend the multilateral talks on regional issues will not change Israel's decision to take part in the peace conference. This was made clear last night by a senior political source, after U.S. Secretary of State Baker told Foreign Minister Levi of his disappointment with President al-Asad's stand on this matter. Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir said that he is waiting for Baker's official report about the Syrian decision. "It does make some difference to us," he said.

Jerusalem does not attribute great importance to the multilateral talks. Several sources have even said that Israel should not regret the postponement of the discussions on disarmament and water sources arrangements because it might find itself on the defensive side in the talks. [passage omitted]

This morning, Baker will confer with Prime Minister Shamir, Foreign Minister Levi, and Defense Minister Arens. Last night, Shamir called Levi and dismissed the criticism of the foreign minister, which was attributed to sources in the prime minister's bureau. The two coordinated stands concerning the amendments to the letter of assurances that they will demand from Baker. Here is the list of the demands:

—The United States understands that Israel will not sit with PLO members or East Jerusalem residents because the PLO has no role in the process. Israel will quit the talks if a Palestinian representative declares that he belongs to the PLO. Because it opposes fraud, the United States will support the Israeli side in this case. (The document the United States presented includes only a general declaration that it does not intend to bring about negotiations between Israel and the PLO and that Israel will not have to sit with anyone with whom it cannot.)

—The United States reiterates its stand—as expressed in the past by President Jimmy Carter and Secretary of State Shultz—according to which the 1967 borders are not secure and are indefensible. Baker has determinedly rejected this clause in the Israeli draft memorandum of understanding.

—The purpose of the conference is the establishment of full diplomatic relations. (This is a more unequivocal phrasing than that of the letter of assurances.)

—All the understandings that appear in the secret document of understanding that accompanied the agreement with Lebanon in 1983 will be mentioned, including the withdrawal of all foreign forces and Israel's right to take ground, naval, or airborne action against terrorists. (The United States considers the memorandum invalid because the agreement with Lebanon was never signed.)

—A fuller mention will be made of Ford's letter to Rabin promising that any arrangement on the Golan Heights must take Israel's security needs into account.

—The United States will vote against any proposal for a parallel process raised at the UN Security Council.

—The assurances will be made known to all the parties.

—The modalities of the conference and the bilateral talks that will follow the opening ceremony will be agreed on in advance, before the invitations are issued. An agreement will be made concerning the conduit of the multilateral talks which will start two weeks later.

—The Palestinians will be represented in a joint delegation with Jordan.

The prime minister's bureau expects difficult and lengthy talks concerning some of the clauses, mainly those aimed at reducing the PLO's maneuverability in the process and the demand for a U.S. declaration that the 1967 borders are indefensible. The discussions will probably continue tomorrow as well, and it is possible that Baker will leave for Jordan on the eve of the Sabbath [18 October] and return here the next evening to continue the talks in Jerusalem. At the same time, senior political sources believe that there is a minimal chance that a dispute over the letter of assurances will make Israel quit the conference. [passage omitted]

Levi on Talks With Baker En Route to Jerusalem

TA1610213191 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 2015 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister David Levi by Yoram Ronen—live]

[Text] [Ronen] Good evening to you, Mr. Foreign Minister. You spoke with James Baker on his way from Ben-Gurion Airport to Jerusalem. Was it your impression that, despite all the obstacles, especially on Syria's part, Baker and Pankin will announce in Jerusalem this weekend the convocation of the peace conference in Lausanne at the end of the month?

[Levi] I cannot say what Mr. Pankin thinks before he arrives. I can only state my impression that Mr. Baker, following the talks he has held, seems optimistic. There are still issues that we should settle with him, and he knows this. In our short meeting this evening, we already started to touch on the substantive points that Israel wants to improve, and there is a readiness on his part. He believes that the conference will convene on time.

[Ronen] At the end of the month, you mean.

[Levi] At the end of the month. I cannot guarantee which day, whether it will be in two or three days, but the conference will convene. The talks he had in Syria, although they were difficult, as he said, indicate that Syria is coming to the conference without preconditions, as Israel wishes.

[Ronen] Still, Syria now is posing conditions that may not have existed at the beginning of the negotiations, such as its refusal to say that the conference should culminate in a peace treaty, or its unwillingness to participate in the multilateral talks with Israel. All this did not exist before.

[Levi] First of all, we are talking with the United States, and the U.S. guarantees and position are important to us. From the U.S. viewpoint, the goal is a peace treaty with full diplomatic relations. That is extremely important. Only a year ago, some doubted that we would be able to receive such a guarantee. As for the multilateral issues—development and promotion of economic relations, water, infrastructure, and telecommunications projects, for example—we have dealt with them for months. Some played them down, but they can be implemented. This is a U.S. condition. Syria indeed is opposed. Syria states that there should first be progress in the negotiations, and only then can deliberations on regional cooperation be embarked upon....

[Ronen, interrupting] Does that satisfy you?

[Levi] The United States has totally rejected that, as I heard from Mr. Baker, and declares that all sides should participate in the regional development deliberations alongside Israel. The United States insists on that; Baker's reaction to that was very strong.

[Ronen] If Syria does not participate in the multilateral talks with us, will we withdraw from the conference? Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' said today he will not be prepared to shake your blood-covered hand.

[Levi] First, I do not extend my hand to anyone who does not want it. There are no preconditions, nor this either. I hope they will not come masked. We are going to a meeting having seen the Israeli positions accepted: namely, direct negotiations without preconditions. Furthermore, we did not agree to any formula along the lines of territories for peace, but we will handle the Arab-Palestinian problem according to Camp David. A little over a year ago, some in the national unity government believed that the part of the Israeli Government's initiative that talked of a two-track approach—of dealing with the Palestinian problem, as well as with the worse danger posed by the Arab countries—could not be achieved. They said that direct negotiations with the Arab countries without preconditions was wishful thinking, an unattainable goal, but we have achieved that now.

[Ronen] Mr. Foreign Minister, you sound more optimistic than the prime minister, who was quite reserved this evening, saying that it is not at all clear whether Israel indeed will participate in the conference.

[Levi] First, the prime minister says that we are at the beginning of an era of peace, although he does not

promise a bed of roses, as he put it. I agree with him. Nothing is easy. One should have faith. The Israeli Government has acted to achieve its goals for all these months. The achievements we have made have first-rate political significance. They are serving us today, and also will serve us during the negotiations. That is our goal. The plan, the initiative, is the Israeli Government's. There was an attempt to break it and force us to deal with the Palestinian issue only, with the Arab countries not agreeing to speak to us face to face. Had we followed that initiative, which fell through, and had dealt with the Palestinian issue only, we would have legitimized the Arab countries' refusal to talk with us or to negotiate with us. We would have legitimized their continued state of war against Israel, their continued rejection of peace, and their wait-and-see attitude. If we had then given the Palestinians everything, they would have come to ask for their share of the cake. We therefore insisted on our initiative; we persisted in our effort to achieve a two-track process. We are treading on solid ground here. There are other issues we need to deal with. We will deal with them and not lose hope or walk around in a gloomy or fearful mood. We need self-confidence. We need a correct view of the situation. We also must insist on our position on vital issues. We must create in the people a feeling of trust and a belief that this is possible.

[Ronen] I almost agree with [Labor] Knesset Member 'Uzi Bar'am, who wrote in YEDI'OT AHARONOT that your recent statements make it seem that you, instead of Shulamit Aloni [the Citizens Rights Movement leader], are at the head of the leftist front.

[Levi] My comments are the government's. They reflect the Likud's initiative and are fully coordinated with the prime minister. If Mr. 'Uzi Bar'am and his camp sympathize with these comments, they have a problem. Let them come and join the Likud.

[Ronen] You are probably at odds with Yosi Ben-Aharon, director general of the Prime Minister's Office, who usually expresses the prime minister's position. He said this weekend that it would not be a disaster if the conference was not convened.

[Levi] To my great regret, the remarks that Mr. Ben-Aharon makes sometimes do not reflect the prime minister's opinion. The press today quoted him on remarks that the prime minister is supposed to have made about me; the press quoted elements in the Prime Minister's Office, who cited Shamir as saying this and that.

[Ronen] Are you referring to the criticism Shamir leveled at you for having disclosed the points of agreement yesterday?

[Levi] Sure. What is meant by disclosure? The Knesset committee has a right to know this important matter, and it is the government's duty to note its achievements. The people were frightened, and even Knesset members began to believe that all those points that we discussed and settled with the United States were unfounded, as it were. They were beginning to believe that the United States was retracting agreements, that we were going to hell and falling into a trap, that a blind government was going to wreck the country. It was necessary then to present to the people and the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee those points that had been settled so that they would know about the achievements that we already have made and those achievements we still need to make. The prime minister called me today and said: David, you should know that all those press reports were not in my name. When you hear information in the future, do not think that it always comes from the source that it is said to have come from.

[Ronen] Mr. Foreign Minister, we are almost at the end of this interview, but let me ask you for a short reaction to Knesset Member Beni Begin's announcement that he intends to contest the premiership after Yitzhaq Shamir retires. Is Beni Begin your candidate, too?

[Levi] He is a grown man; he knows what he is doing. On his announcement, I would quote the following saying: Vivre la liberte.

[Ronen] You once told former Prime Minister Menahem Begin that you were his successor. Ari'el Sharon already has announced that he will contest the premiership in the coming elections. Are you a contestant, too?

[Levi] Right now I am devoting my whole being and all of my energy and time to promoting the peace process according to the Israeli Government's political initiative. Everything in due course.

[Ronen] The time will come. The elections are in 1992, after all.

[Levi] Let us wait. Everything in due course.

[Ronen] Mr. Foreign Minister, thank you.

[Levi] Thank you.

Palestinians Prepare for, Hold Talks With Baker

Al-Husayni: Jordan Talks 'Successful'

TA1610182891 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Arabic 1730 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Interview with Faysal al-Husayni, head of Jerusalem's Arab Studies Society, by Yoni Ben-Menahem, at al-Husayni's home in Jerusalem "today"]

[Text] [Al-Husayni] We met in Jordan with the prime minister, his majesty the king, and other officials within the context of the Palestinian-Jordanian meetings held there before and after our arrival, and which are continuing now even following our return to Jerusalem. I can say that these talks were successful. They not only contribute to the peace process, but also concern future relations between Palestine and Jordan.

[Ben-Menahem] Confederal relations?

[Al-Husayni] I believe that one of the options before us is a confederation.

[Ben-Menahem] Did you confer with Jordanian officials about the formation of a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation?

[Al-Husayni] As I told you, we went there within the context of talks that preceded and followed our presence there. One of the topics raised there was the issue of the joint delegation.

Consultations Prior to Talks

TA1610162591 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] The Palestinian delegation that will confer this evening with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker includes Faysal al-Husayni, Dr. Hanan 'Ashrawi, Dr. Zakariyah al-Agha, and Dr. Sari Nusaybah.

Our correspondent Moti Amir reports that on their way from Allenby Bridge to Jerusalem, the four held consultations with several Palestinian figures who are candidates for participation in the negotiations.

In East Jerusalem, the four held a meeting with Dr. Ghassan al-Khatib, a leader of the Communist Party in the territories. Al-Khatib said that the delegation will represent all sectors of the residents of the territories.

The list of Palestinian delegates for the peace conference, as well as the specifics of the accord reached between them and Jordan, will be made public tomorrow.

Names of Candidates Broached

TA1710055591 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0505 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's first meeting in Israel was with Faysal al-Husayni, Dr. Hanan 'Ashrawi, and other Palestinian representatives. Our correspondent Moti Amir has the details:

[Begin recording] [Amir] In the meeting last night with Secretary Baker, the members of the Palestinian delegation discussed the names of candidates from the territories who might meet the criteria presented by the United States and Israel—namely, those whose candidacy Israel will not oppose when Baker shows Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir the list. At the same time, Baker was not given the final list of the Palestinian delegates to the negotiations. This list will probably be released today. Faysal al-Husayni refused to divulge details about this last night:

[Al-Husayni] We held lengthy and very important talks today. Tomorrow we will hold another meeting, and I hope that everything will be okay.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did you present Mr. Baker with a list of names?

[Al-Husayni] Look, we discussed these matters, but I do not wish to be more specific. Thank you.

[Amir] It has been learned that in the meeting with Baker, the members of the delegation offered a compromise proposal to bypass the hurdle of East Jerusalem representation. Faysal al-Husayni announced that another meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will be held this evening.

Al-Husayni expressed his assessment that a positive response on the Palestinians' participation in the peace conference will be delivered today:

[Al-Husayni] I hope that there will be a positive response from the United States and from the Israeli side tomorrow.

[Amir] At the end of last night's news conference, Dr. Sa'ib 'Urayqat, journalist and attorney Ziyad Abu-Zayyad, and Dr. Mamduh al-'Akr came to Faysal al-Husayni's home. Earlier yesterday, when the members of the Palestinian delegation returned from Jordan, they held consultations at Dr. 'Urayqat's home in Jericho and conferred with at least two proposed candidates for the delegation to the peace conference.

When they arrived at Faysal al-Husayni's home in the Savannah [as heard] neighborhood of East Jerusalem, Ziyad Abu-Zayyad and Dr. Ghassan al-Khatib from the Communist Party in the territories were also summoned to al-Husayni's house. [end recording]

As we reported, Baker met with Faysal al-Husayni and other delegates yesterday. Al-Husayni addressed the press after the meeting, expressing the hope that if a peace agreement is reached, most of the Arab and Jewish acts of hostility will come to an end. Al-Husayni announced last night that all the Palestinian representatives who have thus far participated in the peace process, including himself and his colleagues, will continue to deal with the issue even after the peace conference. Moti Amir heard him:

[Begin recording] [Amir] Faysal al-Husayni, who heads the Palestinian delegation to the talks with Baker, seemed encouraged last night after meeting with the U.S. secretary. Speaking to reporters, al-Husayni said that if peace is achieved, it will put an end to Arab-Jewish hostility.

[Al-Husayni] This will end [word indistinct] these matters and finally everything will come to an end. I cannot say that everything will end from one day to the next, but the main thing will be over.

There are people among us who perpetrate attacks, who engage in violence, as you said, but there is shooting from the other side as well, and our people are being killed. Some people seize houses and settle in places that do not belong to them, so on every side there are people who engage in things that can create problems for the peace process.

[Amir] As for the future of Jerusalem, al-Husayni emphasized that he, too, thinks Jerusalem should remain united, but he claims it should serve as the capital for the two nations.

[Al-Husayni] We can live in Jerusalem, which will [word indistinct] two capitals but will be open, where we can live together, where I will have access to every place in western Jerusalem and you will have access to every place in East Jerusalem; however, East Jerusalem will house the buildings of the Palestinian capital and western Jerusalem will be Israel's capital. Nevertheless, we will have access to every point at all times. I know it is not easy, but Jerusalem is so beautiful, so dear to all of us, that we will try to do everything to keep it united, a city about which everyone will be able to say: If I forget thee, O Jerusalem.

[Amir] Al-Husayni's remarks predictably lead one to understand that the Palestinians hope to set up a Palestinian state at the end of the negotiations at the regional peace conference. He rejected all the other proposals that were broached, emphasizing that if this goal, or a confederative framework with Jordan, is not achieved at the end of the process, peace will not prevail in our region. He maintained that the Palestinians aspire to a democratic state alongside Israel.

[Al-Husayni] We, the Palestinians, have had experience with three countries: Israel, Jordan, and Lebanon. In Lebanon, we tasted freedom without the power to rule; in Jordan, we experienced power without democracy; in Israel, we saw democracy without equality. If there is a Palestinian state, there will be a country with freedom, democracy, and equality, as well as a regime that will be able to sustain these values.

[Amir] The members of the Palestinian delegation—Faysal al- Husayni, Dr. Hanan 'Ash:awi, and Dr. Sari Nusaybah—will participate in the peace process even during the regional peace conference deliberations, al-Husayni ann sced last night. Only Dr. Zakariyah al-Agha will probably participate in the actual negotiations as one of the Gaza Strip representatives at the regional peace conference. [end recording]

[Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew at 0600 GMT on 17 October carries a similar report on al-Husayni's news conference, adding that he suggested that "if peace is achieved, the Middle East could establish a regional common market."]

Second Meeting Scheduled

TA1610222791 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 2200 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Faysal al-Husayni, head of the Palestinian delegation that conferred with James Baker for three hours this evening, said that he and his colleagues will hold another meeting with Baker tomorrow. Our correspondent Moti Amir reports that, in a news conference in East Jerusalem, al-Husayni said that he and his colleagues discussed with Baker the composition of the Palestinian delegation and other issues, such as the settlements and East Jerusalem. Al-Husayni expressed the hope that in tomorrow's meeting the Palestinians will receive a positive reply from the Americans, at which stage an announcement on the Palestinians' joining the peace process will be released.

Compromise Proposal on Jerusalem

TA1710122091 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1130 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent in the territories Moti Amir]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of Sta.e James Baker explained last night to the members of the Palestinian delegation that they will not have a representative from East Jerusalem in the delegation to the peace conference. The delegation members asked Baker that in return for this, a clause be appended to the letter of assurances stating that the problem of Jerusalem will be discussed during the second stage of the peace conference, namely after the three-year interim period, and that these discussions will be attended by an East Jerusalem representative. The Palestinians asked that the Americans also add that they accept the Palestinians' position that Jerusalem need not remain united.

This, then, is the compromise proposal that was broached last night, to which the Palestinians are awaiting an answer before they say whether or not they will participate in the peace conference.

It has also been learned from East Jerusalem sources that the PLO's Central Committee will not be the one to release the names of the Palestinian representatives to the negotiations. Secretary Baker last night informed the delegation members, headed by Faysal al-Husayni, that if the PLO does so, Israel will immediately disqualify the list. An idea was raised at the meeting that the names will be released in a pamphlet issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Intifadah, but this idea was rejected since the body also includes the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which opposes the peace process. It seems that in the end the names will appear in a special joint leaflet signed by Fatah, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Communist Party, or in a press release from East Jerusalem.

Today, while they await their second meeting with Secretary Baker this evening, the delegation members are holding consultations in Faysal al-Husayni's house, which has become the Mecca of political activity for the residents of the territories. This afternoon, the delegation members will confer with the foreign consuls of several European countries, with whom they will discuss the latest developments.

Anti-Baker Demonstration Opposite Consul's Home

TA1610163091 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] More than 1,500 Gush Emunim members are currently staging a demonstration in Jerusalem's Independence Park, opposite the U.S. consul's residence, protesting James Baker's peace move. Our correspondent Ya'el Ayalon reports that the demonstrators were joined by Minister Rehav'am Ze'evi and Knesset members from the right-wing parties. They attacked the U.S. secretary of state and his goals and warned of the dangers they foresee for Israel if it joins the peace conference. Police units are at the site, and the demonstration is proceeding quietly.

A protest rally held by several dozen Peace Now activists against the continued settlement activity ended 30 minutes ago near Dung Gate. Our correspondent Gil Litman reports that the demonstrators wanted to go to Silwan, which is across from Dung Gate, but that the police prevented them from doing so. The participants in the rally called on the government to pursue the political process.

Milo: Syrian Conduct Shows No Interest in Talks

TA1710071591 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0505 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Telephone interview with Police Affairs Minister Roni Milo by Shalom Qital—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Qital] To the heart of the matter: You said we strive for peace. Will this Baker visit result in our going to the peace conference?

[Milo] I very much hope so. In the final analysis, one must bear in mind that for a very long time we have been making tremendous efforts to reach direct peace talks, and we have great hopes that this will indeed be the culmination of the process. I cannot say with certainty that we can already conclude that this will be the case, as several very serious issues still remain, which the prime minister, the foreign minister, and the defense minister will have to work out with the secretary of state. That is why I would not rush to reach conclusions or indulge in assessments over future agreements. Nevertheless, I sincerely hope—and, furthermore, I know the prime minister hopes—that it will be possible to conclude the talks with positive results, even though the road until we reach such agreements is still quite rough.

[Qital] Regarding Syrian intransigence over deliberations on regional issues: We have heard Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' say that they will not shake the hands of Israelis as long as Israel occupies Arab territory. Does this not deter you a bit? Does this not somewhat scare you?

[Milo] I must admit that we are concerned about this, because the real question is: What are the goals of those who come to discuss peace with us and who are interested in holding the meetings in which we are interested? If the intention is to score short-term tactical gains in terms of relations with the United States, or to obtain U.S. aid, or to create a certain international image—if that is the situation, we may let the purpose of such talks slip by us. One must bear in mind that in the end, the talks should lead to peace. There is currently a general problem of defining matters: The Syrians object to the a priori definition of the goal of these talks as the attainment of peace treaties. The Syrian conduct with respect to the multilateral talks relating to water and regional peaceful relations shows that they are not interested in participating in these talks at all. We have heard the Syrian foreign minister express himself that he will not be ready to shake hands with the Israeli delegation. All this raises, at the very least, the serious question as to whether there is a sincere desire here for peace. If that desire does not exist, then naturally we should be even more circumspect in all the moves we employ.

We will not miss the opportunity to examine things, but we must engage in this move knowing for certain that we are embarking on a path that could lead to peace and which will not lead us to situations which are dangerous for Israel. This is the main reason we have acted so cautiously. There is no need to rush. The prime minister, in this sense, has been examining carefully every detail and every development. He also holds consultations on these matters with both the foreign minister and the defense minister, as well as with other ministers, because ultimately this is a move which is crucial for Israel's future. It has to do with fundamental issues of our security and survival here, as well as with the larger chance of reaching peace in such talks. [passage omitted]

Aide Says Nation 'Not Entitled' To Leave Golan

TA1710081491 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0800 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Anyone in his right mind knows that Israel cannot and is not entitled to leave the Golan Heights. The above statement was made by Cabinet Secretary Elyaqim Rubinstein a short while before Secretary of State James Baker begins his talks with the prime minister and the ministerial team in Jerusalem. Speaking to our correspondent Razi Barqay, Rubinstein said that contrary to some reports, the mood in the prime minister's bureau is not gloomy but one of anticipation due to the importance of the issues at hand.

This morning, our political correspondent reported that the talks in Jerusalem are expected to be tough and that Secretary Baker may extend his visit to Israel.

Peres Leaves for Moscow for Talks With Gorbachev

TA1710052191 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Opposition leader Shim'on Peres will today hold talks in Moscow with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Peres is being accompanied by Knesset Member Arye Eli'av and his adviser Nimrod Novik.

Envoy to USSR on Relations

TA1710075391 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0600 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Telephone interview with Arye Levin, Israel's consul general in Moscow, "who is in Jerusalem this morning," by anchors Goni Mardor and Gil Tamari—live]

[Text] [Mardor] Good morning, Arye Levin.

[Levin] A very good morning to you.

[Mardor] It seems, as we have heard, that relations with the USSR will not be resumed in this round of talks. Did you not expect a Soviet gesture?

[Levin] I cannot get into this; it is speculative. We will see in the next few days—and that is not too long to wait.

[Mardor] But do you think that diplomatic relations may conceivably be resumed in the next few days?

[Levin] I hope so, but we are dealing with the Soviets and they have their own opinion on the matter, which may not correspond to ours.

[Tamari] It seems as though each time the prospect of the resumption of ties becomes imminent, something ultimately happens to hinder it. Could you explain that mechanism to us?

[Levin] In the Soviet Union there are many views, and after all, their explanations may be very typical and characteristic of reality in the Soviet Union: Everyone regrets the severing of relations in 1967, but they have great difficulties getting out of that situation and do not know how to do so without what to them seems a diminution of their importance as a superpower. All this has happened before, and we have seen it occur a number of times. Let us hope this is nearing its end now.

[Mardor] We heard you say yesterday that certain Soviet circles currently oppose the intention to resume ties. What circles did you refer to?

[Levin] They are conservative circles, around both the Soviet and the Russian presidents. I would not like to be more specific, but they exist, remnants of the pre-revolution era. It seems they are still prevalent and have a say.

[Tamari] In the current situation in the Soviet Union, what kind of impact could the USSR have on what is happening in the conference and the parties in it, say Syria?

[Levin] I cannot objectively describe the Soviets' relations with the Syrians, but they claim that they maintain negotiations with them and are trying to influence them. The fact is that for many years the USSR did have an influence over the Syrians, because their relations were very close.

[Tamari] Can they still do something today?

[Levin] They are trying.

[Mardor] Who does Boris Pankin represent today? Whose foreign minister is he?

[Levin] He is the foreign minister of the central government. Even if all the other central government ministries ultimately disappear, the Foreign Ministry and a few other very central ministries will probably remain. Pankin represents that mechanism. The Foreign Ministry still influences the USSR's foreign policy, and Pankin, as minister, reflects the needs of a central government which must still be above the republics.

[Mardor] Mr. Levin, are you preparing in Moscow for the possibility of resumed ties? We read in one of the papers a few days ago that the walls of the old embassy building are being torn down to locate all the bugging devices that had been planted there over the years.

[Levin] I am not familiar with this issue.

[Tamari] Mr. Levin, what more should we expect in the next few days? We have heard that Shim'on Peres will probably confer with Mikhail Gorbachev. Since you are in Jerusalem, you will somehow miss that meeting.

[Levin] There will be other meetings.

[Tamari] Is anything on the agenda?

[Levin] I do not know what is on the agenda. Gorbachev will probably tell Shim'on Peres that the USSR intends to renew ties, but we know that. As for what else he will tell Peres, I do not know. If there is something new, I will be surprised.

[Mardor] Mr. Levin, Israel's consul general in Moscow, thank you very much.

[Levin] Shalom.

Work Begins on Mobile Homes in South Jerusalem

TA1610165791 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Work to station 40 mobile homes in Giv'at Hamatos, in the southern part of Jerusalem, began recently. All in all, more than 600 mobile homes will be placed at the site. They will house new immigrants and young couples.

Arye Bar, director general of the Construction and Housing Ministry, said that the rent for these mobile homes will be 260 shekels a month [a little over $100]. The site was suggested to the Construction and Housing Ministry by the Jerusalem municipality.

Our correspondent Shmu'el Tal reports that, according to Construction and Housing Ministry calculations, stationing the mobile homes in Giv'at Hamatos will cost 11 million shekels.

Ministry: Site Not Linked to Baker

TA1710081891 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0600 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] The placing of the mobile homes in Giv'at Hamatos in Jerusalem is not linked to the political moves and the U.S. secretary of state's visit. This was explained by the Construction and Housing Ministry. Our correspondent Sarit Mikha'eli reports:

Giv'at Hamatos is located in southern Jerusalem, between Kibbutz Ramat Rahel and Gilo, directly across from the Mar Ilyas Monastery. During the War of Independence, it was the site of a British outpost. The Jerusalem Municipality asked the Construction and Housing Ministry to help it establish a temporary site there to house new immigrants, young couples, and the homeless. The infrastructure work to prepare the site for the stationing of small mobile homes has been undertaken by the Jerusalem Development Authority and is being financed by the Construction and Housing Ministry at a cost of approximately 10 million shekels for ground-breaking work that will prepare the area for the final stage planned for 600 small mobile homes, half of which will be rented to new immigrants and half to veteran Israelis.

Giv'at Hamatos lies beyond the Green Line, but it is still under Jerusalem municipal jurisdiction. The Construction and Housing Ministry stresses that the work to bring the first small mobile homes to the site and the visit of the U.S. secretary of state are totally unrelated.

So far, approximately 40 small mobile homes have been placed there yesterday and the day before, following the planned timetable.

The Construction and Housing Ministry spokesman asked whether all the work to build new homes in Karmi'el and Beersheba will also be halted each time James Baker comes here.

A body that has already expressed satisfaction with the timing of the placement of the small mobile homes is the Council of Jewish Settlements in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, which welcomed the move.

Tzomet To Quit After Request To Cede Land

TA1610174691 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Tzomet leader Minister Refa'el Eytan said that his party will quit the government only after Israel is asked to cede territories in the course of the negotiations. Minister Eytan was interviewed by Tzvi Lidar.

U.S. 'Determined' To Continue Peace Efforts

JN1610102491 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 16 Oct 91 pp 1, 25

[Editorial: "Israeli Statements Have No Value"]

[Text] Israel is on the verge of losing its balance, because there is an international, specifically American, move aimed at implementing the resolutions of international legitimacy and forcing Middle East countries to be committed to its principles.

It is obvious now that Israel is clearly aware that Washington is this time determined to continue its efforts, will not be satisfied with making an initiative here or receiving an initiative there, and then dealing with one thing or another for several weeks and months. Washington must impose international legitimacy, its principles, and resolutions on the Israelis. Otherwise, it will become certain to the Arabs first, and to all the advocates of values and principles in the world, that the American war launched by the United States against Iraq and which it continues to launch against the Iraqis has nothing to do with principles and values. It will also become certain that it is not true to say that this war is being launched to implement the resolutions of international legitimacy.

Any Israeli ruining of the U.S. Administration's efforts that would make Washington satisfied with the efforts it has made so far—yet without achieving anything—would mean one thing, namely, that this administration was neither serious nor sincere in its dealing with the Middle East crisis before the end of the cold war and under the new world order. Such a result would also mean that the Israeli entity, which depends on U.S. support for its survival, could inflict the first defeat on the United States after the end of this war and after propagating the new world order. In this new world order, international legitimacy should be respected, regional conflicts should be resolved, wars and injustice should be stopped, and all nations should enjoy their full rights to sovereignty, security, propserity, and stability.

Baker's tours, which began after the barbaric war that was launched against the Iraqi people, have so far reflected an U.S. trend affirming that Washington does not use double standards, does not deal with two United Nations, and does not respect some Security Council resolutions while scorning others. These tours also revealed Israeli insistence on continuing rebellion against and departure from international legitimacy, refusal to fully implement its resolutions, and insistence on continuing Israeli aggression against the Arab territory and Israeli occupation of the Arab territory.

Since we are aware of the U.S. capability to render its efforts a success, we do not give any value to all Israeli statements and to Israeli officials' rejection of the U.S. efforts or their heaping of insults and contempt on these efforts. This is because we know that the United States can deprive Israel of its means of power. It would be sufficient for President Bush to decide to delay the granting of the American loans to the Israeli entity for another period of time so that all Israelis will realize that without the United States, they cannot continue their aggression; they cannot even continue their existence. It is important that Washington should do what underscores its desire to achieve a just settlement is in line with the size of its capability.

*Deputy Shubaylat Explains Allegations of Torture

92AE0018A Amman AL-RIBAT in Arabic 17 Sep 91 p 5

[Article: "Deputy Layth Shubaylat: Government Exceeded Its Bounds When It Concealed Deputies' Opinion From People; Interior Minister Believed, Prison Warden Acknowledged Detainees' Torture"]

[Text] Statement by Deputy Layth Shubaylat in a press conference on true democratic conditions two years after restoration of parliamentary life to Jordan, issued at 1330 on 14 September 1991: **Issue:** True nature of democratic conditions after two years of restoration of parliamentary life.

The immediate reason for this statement, after the accumulation of numerous reasons which call for its issuance and which will be mentioned later, is the conduct of the government and of the official media (including the daily press) regarding public liberties, the citizens' basic rights, and the House of Representatives' activities through its Liberties Committee. The latest act in this conduct is the refusal of the domestic press, the official news agency, and the official media to cover the activity of the Public Liberties Committee and the report it issued after a tireless effort, and the media's full alignment with the executive authority against the House of Representatives, which represents the origin of all authority, considering that it represents the nation, the source of all power. This provides tangible new evidence of the absence of true democracy in the country and of the failure to promote such democracy. It seems that what is intended for this country is to have a superficial democratic appearance that does not reach to the core of the crooked practices established over a long period of time.

When AL-RIBAT published the committee report, supplied to the press by his excellency the House speaker, the Ministry of Information (in a government which some people like to call the government of liberties!!) refused to allow the newspaper (to be distributed) until a long and heated telephone discussion was held with his excellency the minister of information, keeping in mind that the minister has always opposed the practices whose captive he has now become, and keeping in mind that the Arab Democratic Grouping, which is required to implement the slogans it advocates, is a partner in this government.

These actions have reaffirmed to us—we the deputies who have lived with more than House and one government—that nothing fundamental has changed when his excellency the minister of interior confronts us with his comments on the Public Liberties Committee's report on radio, on television, and in the daily press, without it occurring to his excellency's mind that he is commenting in the Jordanian media on an issue not published in these media, even though it is an issue that emanates from important officials in this government, not to mention from officials who are more important than the cabinet ministers themselves. The government exceeded its bounds when it concealed these officials' opinions from their people, thus engaging in custodianship over those who are custodians of the government by virtue of parliamentary commitment and of the dictate of the constitution. His excellency's cabinet has acted in the same way that past cabinets acted ordinarily. It has acted as if it alone were the state, as if nobody shared power with it, and as if the other authorities were charitable institutions. It has ignored the deputy's powers of control, which are inseparable from his legislative powers.

What is amazing is that his excellency did not respond with a single word to the deputies' strong criticism of his internal policy during the meeting between the deputies and the cabinet on 1 September 1991. He was unable to respond to the same issues on which he chose to comment after the house had adjourned, monopolizing the state's media as if they belonged to the cabinet alone, to the exclusion of the other state institutions.

If his excellency does not accept our argument that we are partners in responsibility, or rather, to put it more precisely, that he is our partner in responsibility, then wouldn't he accept from us the question as to how manly it is to criticize those whose opinions are concealed from the people by the "free and independent" media? How fair is this?

Doesn't his excellency the minister know that the committee recommendations have been signed by nearly 60 percent of the deputies to date, (especially since his excellency completely failed to defend the government's domestic policy during the cabinet meeting with the deputies on Sunday, 1 September 1991)?

Doesn't this occur to his excellency the minister, who cites the report of a judiciary authority that the General Prosecutor's report came in wake of the visit made by the Liberties Committee to a number of detainees in [Sawwaqah] prison, and that those detainees were frightened after they had been taken to task by their jailers for what they had told the deputies who visited them, especially since the Public Prosecutor's Office did not interview them separately? They experienced the bitter consequence of disclosing information in the presence of their jailers after they had tried to disclose such information to the deputies! Has his excellency the minister forgotten that he acknowledged to me personally his firm belief that the detainees had been beaten and tortured? Has his excellency forgotten that the prison warden admitted to the committee that they had been beaten? Has his excellency forgotten that the government did not inspect the jails, as dictated by its legal duty, until the Liberties Committee intervened? Can his excellency show us periodic reports on visits to jails in past years, if there was any serious, noteworthy inspection of the jails?

How can his excellency the minister allow himself to refute the accuracy of the report of a committee which was compelled to work hard days and nights to get its information through a government which has prevented and continues to prevent deputies from exercising their right to check the conditions of a segment of their people? Doesn't his excellency remember that the committee includes, among others, five honorable deputies who are members of the Parliamentary Investigation Committee and who perform the tasks of public prosecution at the highest levels of interrogation, namely the interrogation of ministers? Why didn't his excellency respond to the deputies during the lengthy meeting which took place between the deputies and the cabinet on 1 September 1991?

As for the media, they have, as usual, been unable but to align themselves with the executive authority against an official report by the people's deputies. The report recommendations have been adopted by the majority of the deputies to whom these recommendations have been presented to date. This majority constitutes 60 percent of the House. It was impossible to submit the report to the House's special session, keeping in mind that active efforts are being made to present it to the other deputies. The media have ignored the offensive facts in the report about violation of the law, the constitution, and the international charters, such as the incarceration of citizens in an illegal place that has not been declared a jail in accordance with the kingdom's laws, and that is not subject to the prisons law; such as the beating and torture to which detainees are subjected and which has been irrefutably proven to the deputies; such as preventing visits to the detainees by the deputies and by the detainees' attorneys; such as the illegality of the detention procedures, especially since the martial administration directives have been abolished; and such as the government's failure to adhere to notifying the defendant in writing, even verbally, of the charges made against him and of the article of the law in accordance with which he is interrogated.

For this reason, there has been a need for a statement like this one at a time when we see that numerous writers have employed their pens to serve democracy's foes, focusing their criticism on the House of Representatives and on the deputies. Even though we do not allege that deputies are above criticism, we emphasize that he who does not possess something cannot give it. We bow our heads to any criticism issuing from a free and daring pen that has proven its freedom and courage in all arenas before invading our arena, whose prestige we are trying to restore, because only with this prestige will respectability be restored to the people and freedom to the pens.

As for certain incidents that were staged by certain individuals, which have been attributed to a jihad organization known for its operations against the enemy, while denouncing any act that harms any citizen or any facility, we also denounce the exaggeration of an incident by concocting charges against the country's young men who had prepared themselves—on a general official request from their deputies and with their government's approval—to confront the invasion that was expected during the Gulf war, by confusing the issue of those who responded to the official appeal to strike the NATO interests with the issue of a small number of other defendants. All of us condemn the acts attributed to these defendants, such as attacking any sons of the one Jordanian family, regardless of their positions, or affiliations.

We expect the State Security Court, as established in its new form by the National Assembly, to reassure society with the decisions it makes on this case, God willing.

We also denounce the policy that seeks to create the climate and mobilize public opinion against the Islamic movements, which constitute the main obstacle in the face of capitulation to the enemies. We declare that whoever concedes to work to weaken this Islamic tide and plot against it puts himself in a position of hostility to his nation, its interests, its history, its culture, and its future.

The government that followed approval of the charter was expected to implement the charter's objectives and spirit. But it seems that our stance, which opposes the charter and questions its seriousness, has proven that it is the only sound stance. The martial mentality and psyche continue to govern the officials' actions. Authoring dozens of charters will change nothing unless the charters are coupled with struggling to restore the citizens' basic constitutional rights.

We declare that the recommendations made by the Liberties Committee and adopted by the absolute majority of deputies must be implemented immediately, especially since most of them reaffirm existing legal and constitutional principles that have been neglected and unimplemented. The press is required to take the side of right, the people's interests, the law, and of the House of Representatives' resolutions and tendencies in this regard. Journalists are entrusted to carry this trust side by side with the people's deputies. They are required to struggle to liberate their profession from control and direction so that the press can rise to the level of a neutral control authority serving the people seriously.

Moreover, the Journalists' Union is required to shoulder the responsibilities of its message and to launch a struggle renaissance to achieve true freedom of expression, which is the fence that guards the other constitutional liberties and rights.

Under the umbrella of the retreating martial laws, which must be abolished completely in the near future, and with promulgation of the new Supreme Court of Justice law and the new State Security Court law, which reverts this court's powers to the civil judiciary and which guarantees the defendant's right of appeal, it has become necessary to struggle so that the government will abolish or amend the defense laws to ensure that the citizen's basic rights will not be violated, especially his right to liberty and not to have this liberty restricted, unless by a judiciary authority acting within the law. It has also become necessary to struggle for changing the administration officials' martial psyche, which continues to influence the education of suppressed generations that are far from courage, dignity, manliness, and valor. The Lawyers' Union is required to assume its vanguard role in forming committees to spontaneously confront any circumstance in which the citizen's freedom is assaulted and to struggle by volunteering to defend such citizens so that we can all contribute to creating the state of laws and institutions. This state will not be given to us as a gift without a hard struggle and an untiring effort to remove those who confiscate citizen's rights from the positions of aggression that they have seized.

Last, but not least, the Arab Democratic Grouping is required to take a firm stance on its status in the government, considering that its influence to bring about real changes has not surpassed the influence of the parliamentary blocs and deputies that have preceded it in past governments.

Let us all fear God, and let us all work to unite the ranks of all those working to achieve the citizen's basic rights, be he an Islamist, a pan-Arabist, or a democrat. Peace be upon you.

Hizballah Source on Peace Conference, Hostages

NC1510121691 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 1130 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] A Hizballah source has asserted that Lebanon's participation in the international peace conference is designed to reach security arrangements with Israel with Arab blessings. He ruled out the possibility of implementing UN Security Council Resolution 425. The source expects an escalation in south Lebanon.

Touching on the hostage and detainees issue, the source asserted that progress is hindered by the United States and Israel. He said Washington is requested to pressure Israel.

The source emphasized that Hizballah has nothing to do with the hostage issue. He pointed out that negotiations with the party are limited to the case of the Israeli and South Lebanese Army detainees.

The source noted that the party is not going to provide any information on the Israeli soldier it is detaining and that it is coordinating the matter with Iran. He said: Principally, we hide no information from the Iranians.

The source drew the attention of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] to the way it is dealing with released persons when they go to the points designated by the Israelis. He noted that the ICRC concealed certain information and dealt with the issue as though it was a private deal upon Israeli orders. He said: Past experience with released persons was not successful because there was no responsiveness.

Khalil on Detainees, Hostages

NC1510143191 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1300 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] At a news conference held today, Haj Husayn Khalil, chairman of Hizballah's political bureau, affirmed that the United States should have exerted pressure on Israel to release the Lebanese and Palestinian detainees it is holding. He added that he has not given the Israelis any information about their soldiers, and that the issue of the Western hostages is of no concern to him.

Khalil said that the Syrians have not asked Hizballah to stop the armed struggle against Israel. He noted that the United States has asked the Lebanese Government to stop resistance operations in the south and to disarm the resistance. He affirmed that the armed struggle will continue as long as Israel remains in Lebanon.

AFP Reports Statements

NC1510152491 Paris AFP in English 1431 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Beirut, Oct 15 (AFP) - The United States is blocking a deal to free Western hostages in Lebanon by failing to pressure Israel into releasing Muslim prisoners, a pro-Iranian Shiite Muslim leader charged Tuesday. "The Americans should have exerted pressure on Israel to make them free Lebanese and Palestinians held in its prisons," Haj Husayn Khalil, head of Hizballah's Political Department, told journalists.

"We have never given the Israelis information about soldiers imprisoned with us and we have no intention of doing it," Khalil said. "We don't deal with them, we deal with our friends the Iranians who have decided to find with Mr. (U.N. Secretary General Javier) Perez de Cuellar a comprehensive solution to the hostage and prisoner business," Khalil said. "Hizballah is implicated in this affair because it holds Israelis and pro-Israeli militiamen, dead and alive, because it wants anti-Israeli rebels to win back their freedom," he commented. "Hizballah is not at all involved in the Western hostages issue," he added.

In August, during negotiations preceding the release of a Britain and an American, "Perez de Cuellar's special envoy, Giandomenico Picco, met representatives of the kidnappers, who apparently want to find a settlement of the hostage affair," Khalil said. The Shiite leader said Hizballah has no news on the Israeli navigator Ron Arad, one of the missing Israelis.

At least one of two Israeli soldiers (Rahamin al-Sheikh) held by the fundamentalist organization is dead, he said, declining to give details on the fate of the other, Yosef Fink. "Nobody has yet dared to ask us to stop the armed struggle against Israel, and especially not the Syrians," he said.

"To my knowledge, President Hafiz al-Asad believes that our right to resistance against the occupant is legitimate and in this spirit we doubt that the Syrians will exert pressure on us despite the holding soon of what is called the peace conference," he said. "We know that the Americans have asked Lebanese authorities to stop our military operations in south Lebanon and disarm us," he said. "But we have the intention to pursue our action even if some in the government prefer diplomatic action because we believe firmly that Israel will not withdraw voluntarily," he stressed.

The Shiite leader also insisted that the Arab and Muslim peoples will reject the U.S. plan, which he accused of seeking to establish Israeli hegemony. "We are sure these people will intensify their action in south Lebanon and occupied Palestine to show their rejection," he said.

The English-language newspaper, the TEHRAN TIMES, quoted its correspondent as saying Monday that an American might be released within days.

Hizballah Clarifies Comments

NC1510165991 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1615 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] In a statement to AFP, Hizballah-Palestine today clarified the statement it made yesterday on the capture of Israeli soldier Ya'akov Samir Yitzhay by providing

AFP information on the soldier, his place of employment, and his military identification number. The statement, which the news agency recieved by telephone, added that Hizballah-Palestine will release Yitzhahy's photograph soon.

Hostage-Takers Worried About Freeing Captives

NC1510114891 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1030 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Islamic sources said today that the kidnappers of foreign hostages in Lebanon have told a UN envoy that they are worried about their safety after they release all of their captives.

Assistant UN Secretary General Giandomencio Picco left Syria for Lebanon and met with representatives of the kidnappers of nine foreign hostages. Picco currently is mediating a deal involving an exchange of prisoners in the Middle East. Details of the meeting, which was held today either in the eastern al-Biqa' Valley or in Beirut, are not known. It is not known whether the talks were fruitful.

The Islamic sources said the kidnappers are worried that they will be hunted down by Western and Israeli intelligence services after they release all their hostages in Lebanon.

During their meeting with Picco, the kidnappers were expected to urge him that they be given international guarantees regarding their safety. The sources said these guarantees are one of the obstacles delaying a quick solution of the hostage issue. The sources added that the kidnappers expect that Picco will seek to obtain information on two missing Israeli soldiers and to ask for the release of a Western hostage. The sources said that the kidnappers want Picco to convince Israel to release another batch of Arab prisoners to permit further progress in the hostage issue.

Hizballah on Need To Prevent Peace Conference

NC1710123091 (Clandestine) Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic to Lebanon 0630 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Political commentary: "October Reminiscences"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] When the headquarters of the Marines, the Mosad, and the French were blown up in Lebanon, the martyrdom-seekers were labeled as God's madmen. When acts of heroism took place in Palestine, like when a Jewish bus was driven over a cliff, the Fedayeen landed in a camp in Galilee, or the recent operation in which Zionist soldiers were run over, all these operations were described as acts of madness. [passage omitted]

Baker is now in the area shuttling between one capital and another and holding talks with one president after another and one official after another. Thus far, Baker has achieved everything he wanted and put together the elements of the conspiracy conference, indulging Zionist coquetry and circumventing the last Arab objections here and there, and auguring a time of prosperity in the future in which Israel will not be an alien body to us, a cancerous disease in our nation's side, or a cultural challenge presaging the eclipse of our culture and civilization on all levels.

Until recently, we thought that the Arab-Hebrew reconciliation conference was just propaganda for local consumption and that it would inevitably collapse at the last minute.

We have been counting on Israeli obstinacy that would forestall another Karbala [alluding to the Propher Muhammad's grandson Husayn's martyrdom in Karbala]. We have been banking on an Arab who would say no and thus be embraced by the nation's masses and acclaimed as a historic leader and savior from general defeat. We have been counting on Baker to die or Bush to change his opinion of the Jews, or for one of the unexpected acts of what they term madness to occur.

All these bets are now falling like October leaves. [passage omitted] The nation needs another bus to be driven by a Palestinian Muslim over another cliff. The nation is now in greater need of new madmen and of an unprecedented type of rejectionist to disperse this stifling atmosphere. October and November usually bring storms and surprises. Will we have one now?

The most serious thing is that they have come to the negotiations, recognition, and reconciliation in the wake of Desert Storm under the pretext that they know which way the wind is blowing. The fact is, however, that they are now entering a merciless and unjust court and that they are pleading against an adversary whose language they do not know and whose force they do not match. What logical result can be expected when two adversaries are unequal? Can justice be expected? [passage omitted]

Iran Reportedly To Withdraw Revolution Guards

NC1210055791 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 0430 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] The government has been informed that the Iranian leadership has decided to withdraw the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps from Lebanon which number, as AL-NAHAR reported today, between 1,000 and 1,500 members. The paper also said that contacts in this regard were held with the Iranian leadership during the visit by Lebanese Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz to Iran and with Iranian Foreign Minister Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati during the UN General Assembly meetings.

Al-Asad, Mubarak Agree To Coordinate Views

JN1210193091 Damascus Syrian Arab Television Network in Arabic 1830 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Excerpt] President Hafiz al-Asad returned to Damascus this evening after a working visit to Cairo during which he held talks with Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak. Also taking part in the talks for Syria were Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar', and Syria's Ambassador in Cairo 'Isa Darwish; the Egyptian side included Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa, Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif, and Egypt's Ambassador in Damascus Dr. Mustafa 'Abd-al-'Aziz Mursi.

The talks were interrupted by a working lunch.

Talks dealt with the overall situation in the region, the steps already achieved by the peace process, issues dealing with the proposed peace conference, and the stand of the various sides regarding these issues in light of the cooperation and coordination between the two countries.

Agreement was reached to continue discussion and coordination in the coming stages of the peace process. [passage omitted]

Meetings Between Al-Asad, Baker Outlined

JN1610073891 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0715 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] President Hafiz al-Asad and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will today resume talks on issues related to the peace process in the region and the proposed peace conference.

President Hafiz al-Asad and James Baker resumed their talks at 2000 yesterday, Tuesday.

Attending the talks were Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar', Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Nasir Qaddur, and the delegation accompanying Secretary Baker.

The talks dealt with issues related to the peace process in the region, the proposed peace conference, and the U.S. assurances to the parties concerned with the conference.

Al-Shar', Baker Hold Briefing

JN1610164891 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1600 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' said a short while ago that Syria is of the opinion that time is not yet ripe for holding multilateral negotiations with Israeli participation on regional issues in the Middle East. At a joint news conference held with his U.S. counterpart James Baker, al-Shar' added that Damascus on the other hand agrees to participate in bilateral negotiations with Israel in accordance with the U.S. initiative.

The joint news conference followed three rounds of talks with President Hafiz al-Asad, the last of which lasted six hours. The prolonged talks between the two forced postponement of the Syrian-Lebanese summit, which was scheduled today. The talks also delayed Baker's departure for Tel Aviv.

TISHRIN—Israel Cannot Keep Territory and Peace

JN1610095691 Damascus SANA in Arabic 0820 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Damascus, 16 Oct (SANA)—In today's editorial under the headline "The Exposed Maneuvers," TISHRIN says: Regardless of the efforts it makes, and the methods of deception and maneuvering it creates, Israel cannot at all keep the land, and at the same time, enjoy peace, tranquillity, security, and stability.

TISHRIN adds: The land occupied by Israel is Arab land, and it will remain so no matter what. Settling Jewish settlers on this land, and the feverish attempts to judaize it will change nothing in this eternal fact.

The paper says: The entire world has become aware and convinced that Israel is the cause of tension and instability in the region, that the policy of the Tel Aviv rulers is obstructing attainment of a just and lasting peace in this region, and that the continuation of this policy will prevent the success of all international peace initiatives and obstruct the international community's efforts to implement its legitimacy, resolutions, and will.

TISHRIN adds: Peace can only be achieved by forcing Israel to withdraw from the occupied territory, recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and stop the policy of aggression, judaization, and expansion.

Concluding, TISHRIN says: This fact now dominates the convictions of international will. And from today onward, the Israeli deception, maneuvering, and games have been exposed and can deceive no one.

Papers Analyze Baker Mission, Israeli Moves

JN1510080491 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0445 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Press review]

[Text] Under the headline "Leader al-Asad Restates Facts," AL- BA'TH says:

During his meeting with the Spanish foreign minister, leader al-Asad restated several important facts regarding the ongoing efforts concerning the peace process aimed at achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the region. The first fact is Syria's desire to support the peace efforts and to continue to do so, despite all obstacles placed by Israel. The second fact is to underscore the international community's participation in achieving international legitimacy. The third fact is that Syria continues to call for an effective European role. These

facts restated by leader al-Asad fall within the framework of the principled stands adopted by Syria vis-a-vis the overall pan-Arab issues.

AL-BA'TH affirms that Syria's desire to achieve peace, rights, and justice cannot conflict with the desire of the international community, which rejects occupation of others' territories and depriving nations of their rights.

AL-BA'TH adds: Israel, however, with the obstacles it places before the peace efforts and the difficulties it fabricates, only aims at evading peace. It continues to challenge international legitimacy and rebel against the international community, which seeks justice. Hence, leader al-Asad's underscoring the importance of the international community's participation and the European role in the peace efforts to achieve justice and stability, reveals more of Israel's anti-peace nature. The enemy always depends—in its rejection of peace—on disseminating falsehoods throughout the world, particularly in the European countries, which recently began to remove the dust of these falsehoods and realize more and more the real nature of Israel.

Concluding, AL-BA'TH says: Thus, al-Asad's assertion of these important issues reflects the large gap between those who are really for peace and those who work against it.

Under the headline "The Difficult Mission," TISHRIN says: While U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is continuing his last and difficult eighth mission in the region to launch the peace process, President Hafiz al-Asad affirms that Syria will continue to support the ongoing efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive peace despite the obstacles and difficulties Israel places before the peace process.

TISHRIN adds: Baker, in his current tour, has undoubtedly become aware of the reality and essence of the Israeli stand. Through his previous tours of the region—particularly his visits to Israel—it became clear to Baker that all the distances and time could have been abridged had the Shamir government responded, from the beginning, to the peace efforts and admitted that peace alone can guarantee stability in the region and that a durable peace is based on rights and justice, not on the basis of the fait accompli and Zionist will. Baker also knew in his heart that Israel does not want peace. When Israel says that peace would lead to its destruction and would threaten its security, this, automatically, means that it will continue to be hostile to peace and to reject all earnest and sincere efforts to achieve it even if they are American efforts. Otherwise, what is the meaning of escalating and intensifying the Israel campaigns against the U.S. Administration and against President Bush personally, simply because Washington said that it is impermissible for the peace efforts to fail, that it is necessary for these efforts to produce positive and tangible steps to achieve peace in the region, and that the basis of this peace is based on implementing Resolutions 242 and 338.

Concluding, TISHRIN says: As the peace process enters the stage of decision and the countdown to the peace conference begins, this requires American firmness, and perhaps, putting pressure on Israel to respond to the peace efforts. Otherwise, the available opportunities, which America itself was concerned to make available, will be lost. We say: These opportunities will be lost because of Israeli intransigence and the Shamir government's rebellion against international legitimacy. And this is not acceptable to anyone, because it is unreasonable to see Israel—with its blackmailing and reckless, adventuring policy—controlling the region's security and safety; dealing with its affairs with arrogance, conceit, and racist haughtiness; and intentionally ignoring the requirements of the region's stability and development and the effects of this on world security and peace.

Afghanistan

USSR Envoy Holds News Conference

LD1510182491 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Dari 1600 GMT 14 Oct 91

[USSR Ambassador Boris Pastukhov news conference in Kabul on 13 October: Pastukhov's opening address is interpreter only; the following question-and-answer portion is Pastukhov in Russian with superimposed Dari translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] Ladies and Gentlemen: I welcome you, and thank you very much for your participation. Life goes quickly as there is always a need to meet others and talk about views and ideas. Allow me to express my view about a few topics.

According to a tradition which exists between us, I will give a very short speech at the beginning, and then I will be ready to answer your questions.

I begin with your permission. It is almost one month since the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States issued a joint statement on Afghanistan in Moscow. The statement stressed the views and approach of both sides in connection with a political solution in your country, within the framework of the UN secretary general's statement dated 21 May 1991. Of course, a month is a very short period. It provides possibilities for us to express a primary assessment, however, and to think about the future development of the situation in and around Afghanistan. The specific measures which are included in this joint statement are known to everyone. [passage omitted]

I would like to mention that the USSR still considers the political solution of the Afghan problem a priority issue in its foreign policy, and will continue to work for a resolution in the interest of the Afghan people. We support a trend which will preserve Afghanistan as an independent country enjoying sovereignty, territorial integrity, nonaligned Islamic status, and which will have good relations with all its neighbors.

In the diplomatic field we note that Boris Pankin, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, met with 60 heads of state and representatives of other countries while in New York for the 46th session of the UN General Assembly and we can say that in all of those meetings and negotiations the Afghan problem was discussed. The issue was discussed with Mr. George Bush, President of the United States, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general, and the foreign ministers of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. During the meetings, the U.S. President and ministers of foreign affairs of Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia said that they are making efforts for a speedy solution of the Afghan problem. They said that without the participation of all Afghans no agreement can be successful. We realize that there is a difference between what they say about efforts for peace, and their acts, especially from the Pakistani side, which has said that it supports the USSR-U.S. agreement on the cessation of arms supplies. The USSR hopes that Pakistan, however,like others engaged in the Afghan conflict, will stop sending weapons to Afghanistan beginning 1 January.

There was a meeting between Boris Pankin and Mr. Khaleqyar, the prime minister of Afghanistan. In addition to this, a meeting took place with the delegation of Afghanistan's opposition. In the course of the meeting, which was attended from the Mojahedin side by Mr. Mojaddedi, Gailani, and Mohammadi, and a number of other leaders of the opposition groups, an extensive series of issues related to the issue of Afghanistan were discussed.

Within the framework of our efforts toward achieving a speedy political solution, consultation took place in New York between top representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States, the main aim of which was to stress the agreement mentioned in the joint statement of the Soviet Union and the United States.

Soviet and Pakistani consultation will continue on the issue of Afghanistan. Meetings are also being held on this issue with the representatives of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and other countries.

We are expecting the arrival of a delegation of Afghanistan's opposition by the end of October in Moscow. We state that the international belief in an Afghan solution can contribute to the convocation of an international conference on Afghanistan under the supervision of the United Nations Organization, with the participation of the countries guarantors of the Geneva accords, the countries involved in this conflict, and the neighbors of Afghanistan as well as the representatives of all the sides involved in the issue of Afghanistan. The main issue for us in the understanding of this matter is that in the course of the formation of this international intention to achieve an Afghan solution, the process of talks will become more an inter-Afghan dialogue. The main aim of this process will be the fact that Afghans themselves should solve the problem of a transitional stage in Afghanistan.

I want to mention that the Soviet Union attaches great value to the release of the soldiers of the Soviet Union who are in the hands of the mojahedin. Taking this opportunity I want to express the great appreciation of my government to the Government of Afghanistan and Afghan friends who were involved in the release and liberation of our captives, and who carry out considerable efforts in this direction.

Dear friends, I think the working visit of a delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan, led by the esteemed Khaliqyar, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union, is worthy of the fact that I should talk about it a little more. In addition to the political solution of the Afghanistan problem, which I mentioned earlier,

the topics of the talks were future cooperation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in economic and trade spheres. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union will take all measures to fulfill its economic commitments for the current Christian year, and they will definitely be fulfilled. At present, the supply of fuel is continuing, and very soon around 50,000 tonnes of wheat will arrive from Kazakhstan to Afghanistan. In order to resolve the current issue and the future issue of joint cooperation, a high-ranking delegation will arrive in Kabul this month. Representatives of the central departments and Soviet republics will be in the delegation. We are also expecting a number of economic representatives from a number of the republics, such as Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation. [passage omitted]

I would like to finish my statement, and I am now ready to answer your questions.

[Question indistinct]

[Pastukhov] We start with the first question. Unfortunately, the world's mass media have published reports on the meeting between Boris Pankin and one of the Afghan opposition leaders, and have put their own interpretation on it. In my opinion those contradicting reports do not give a correct [word indistinct] of the conversation. [passage omitted] The approach of our delegation to a political solution of the Afghan problem was based on the USSR-U.S. joint statement. Talks were conducted with the representatives of the opposition delegation only on the formation of a transitional government with the participation of the Kabul government and the opposition, the mechanism of which had been proposed previously by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan. Talks were also conducted on the formation of such a national unity government with the participation of Mohammad Zaher, former king of Afghanistan.

As you know, those proposals were presented by esteemed Najibollah, president of Afghanistan, at a joint session of the Afghan Mili Shura. Now I deal with your second question. We hope that Pakistan, like the Republic of Afghanistan, will support the USSR-U.S. joint communique on the political solution of the Afghan problem in an official statement. In this connection, the minister of foreign affairs of the USSR conducted talks with general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, who had participated in the 46th session of the UN General Assembly. We think that the issue will once again be discussed in Moscow talks between the USSR and a Pakistani delegation. We hope that Pakistan's leadership will follow the decision of the USSR and the United States and other countries involved in the Afghan conflict. Our calculations are based on sensibility. Otherwise, if it does not happen in this way, we will embark on talks, understanding, and consultation with our Afghan friends. I personally believe that in our coming meeting this kind of question will not arise.

[Question indistinct]

[Pastukhov] In answer to your question on the eminent visit of the Afghan opposition delegation to Moscow: You know that the opposition based in Pakistan and Iran has expressed an inclination for talks to be conducted on the territory of the Soviet Union, and such a proposal was approved in Moscow. Invitations have been sent to all the leaders of seven parties in Peshawar, and nine parties in Iran, to participate in the talks. It has been stated in the invitations that Moscow is ready for such talks after 14 October. I have recently returned from Moscow and can confidently tell you that both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Federative Republic of Russia have made serious preparations for such talks. So far as we know the date for the visit to Moscow has yet not been confirmed. I think this visit will take place either in the middle or end of October.

Because I do not have sufficient information on the cause of the delay of the visit, I cannot take the responsiblity of expressing a view on it. From reports of our colleague in Islamabad it can be inferred that the representatives of the opposition are conducting serious talks on the approval of a delegation of representatives to be sent to Moscow. We want the delegation to have a broad representation at a high level. We believe that if the talks serve to start intra-Afghan dialogue and a political solution of the Afghan problem, we will have attained our objective. I hope that a delegation with a sense of responsiblity for the search for a political solution to the Afghan problem will go to Moscow to fulfill constructive work.

[Unidentified AFP correspondent] You mentioned prospects of an intra-Afghan dialogue beginning soon. Do you think a dialogue can begin in the absence of a cease-fire and without hardliners in Peshawar participating. Secondly, I want to know whether the Soviet Union will be able or willing to undertake economic liabilities beyond 1991.

[Pastukhov] I think without the start of intra-Afghan dialogue, attaining peace is impossible. I am confident that dialogue is going to be started. Obviously, the sooner the better. [passage omitted]

Concerning the economic question: The leaders of the Soviet Union in Moscow clearly reassured Mr. Khaliqyar that the Soviet Union will fulfill all its economic pledges with Afghanistan in 1991. Under these agreements the Soviet Union will deliver about 60,000 tonnes of gasoline, 100,000 tonnes of diesel, 40,000 tonnes of aviation-kerosine, or C1, and 10,000 tons of kerosene to the Afghans. We believe these will take place on time. As you know, the Soviet Union is facing economic problems. Our crops were not good this year. We will take all measures to deliver these step by step to Afghanistan. It is possible that a number of the audience are aware that recently in Kabul [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Name indistinct] HIWAD daily reporter: Your Excellency, we hear talk about underhand dealings concerning the freedom of 300 Soviet war prisoners, forgetting the

blood of more than 1 million Afghan and 14,000 Soviet soldiers in our land. Would you comment on this?

[Pastukhov] The question of the Soviet prisoners of war is a painful subject for all Soviet people, mainly their relatives. Unfortunately, the subject of prisoners has recently been transformed from a humanitarian subject to a political subject. Our young people, in the face of all difficulties of war, have, without intention, become like political hostages in the hands of a number of the opposition representatives.

A variety of conditions have been put forward for their release. We believe the question of freeing prisoners of war, as it has been accepted internationally, should be out of mercy and only on a humanitarian basis. We believe that possibilities should be provided for each one of them to establish contact with their relatives to let them know that they are alive and healthy. The fathers and mothers of most of them have lost their health as a result of worries and are awaiting good news of their children. We believe that war, life, and destiny caused a number of them to choose a fresh life. Some of them have chosen the Islamic religion; some have families and children. They should themselves decide as to where they would like to live—here, or return home. No one can take this right from them. It is known to you that some of them do not want to return to their country. Every one of them should be freed so that they can determine their fate. We count on the active participation of the United States and representatives of other states in the release of Soviet war prisoners. Serious talks have been held with the representatives of every country with whom the Soviet representative met in the course of the 46th session of the UN General Assembly in New York. We know that local commanders were instructed from Peshawar to transfer Soviet war prisoners who are under their custody to Pakistani territory. I hope these measures have taken place, not for carrying out some hidden motives, but for humanitarian reasons and the release of war prisoners.

[Unidentified correspondent] PAYMA daily journalist. Your Excellency, the Soviet ambassador. The question of war damage reparation to Afghanistan is on the lips these days. In consideration of the Soviet economic crisis, how do you approach the question of payment of war damages to Afghanistan?

[Pastukhov] I will answer your question. I believe that matters should be assessed in their turn. At present, the most important question is that, by utilizing the opportunity, the plan of the UN secretary general and the joint U.S.-Soviet agreement would eventually put an end to war and begin an intra-Afghan dialogue in the process of a political solution of the question of Afghanistan. In the course of this process questions such as what damages the war has inflicted on Afghanistan, what should be done to help this war-torn country which has been persecuted in the course of 13 years, and how to revive its national economy, should be discussed jointly. [passage omitted]

As far as the people of Afghanistan are concerned, we will never spare any of our capabilities to help with the reconstruction of the economy of Afghanistan, which has been destroyed by the war. All soviet people, who have gone through terrible wars, the great homeland war, World War II, know well that unfortunately we cannot retrieve the life of any of the war victims. We remember all those who were perished in war, and always respect them, especially those whose lives have been ended by the Afghan war.

Allow me to end how I started. The most important issue is the extinguishing of the war. All the sources which have been used during the war for the supply of weapons to the sides should be diverted to humanitarian economic aid, so that the ground is prepared for the return of millions of the Afghan refugees, and to have work and a prosperous life. The Soviet Union is ready to take steps in this direction, and proposes that everyone acts likewise and follow this example.

[Chris Bowers] Bowers, BBC. You spoke about an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations [words indistinct]

[Pastukhov] In the course of convening an international conference on the solution of the Afghan problem, international understanding in this respect increases every day. The convening of such a conference in terms of international guarantees will have great importance for the settlement of the Afghan problem. I think we can utilize such a conference for securing international economic aid for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. [passage omitted] As far as the participation of Zaher Shah is concerned, we use our traditional weapon, that is, logic and reason, in the interest of the settlement of the Afghan problem in our negotiations to bring them to the international conference. Surely the participation of forces in this international conference, the agenda, and the possible settlement of the Afghan problem will be discussed in the eminent talks with the delegation of the Afghan opposition representatives in Moscow. We count on this and will make efforts for further understanding. Thank you.

Iran

Armed Forces Chief Criticizes U.S. Policy

LD1310084491 Tehran IRNA in English 1541 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Tehran, Oct. 12, IRNA—Chief of staff of the Iranian Armed Forces, Hasan Firuzabadi, said today that Washington's hypocratic policy such as its planned conference on the Middle East will not be able to protect Israel.

He told a meeting of the top military brass that since the materialistic world led by the United States is unable to comprehend religious values, particularly the devotion

of the Islamic armies to their duties, it imagines that such conferences would prolong the lifespan of the illegal Zionist regime.

Such ruses will not only not keep Israel alive but on the contrary, will fuel the movement for the liberation of the occupied land, adde[4] Firuzabadi. Recalling the late Imam Khomeyni's prediction that the illegal Zionist state is destined to be rooted out, he said the armies of Islamic states are determined to accomplish this task.

Majles Deputy Warns Against Peace Conference

LD1610091191 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran Second Program Network in Persian 0450 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Speech by Fakhreddin Hejazi, deputy from Tehran, at open session of the Majles in Tehran—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] One of the Arab leaders warned [Secretary of State] James Baker that moderate Arab leaders would also grow beards as Islamic fundamentalists, if the United States should refuse to support them. You have guessed it, they mean that only the fundamentalists grow beards. Yes, we are proud of our beards; it was our bearded guards who defended Islam's honor for eight years. Even former U.S. President Jimmy Carter said that one should be frightened of these beared guards. If the Arab leaders refuse to listen to our advice and go ahead with their plan to take part at this disgraceful Arab-Israeli peace conference, some of their own youths will rise and will end their shameful rule.

We are proud of supporting the progessive Palestinian groups, which have condemned the compromising Palestinians. We also are proud of having provided a sanctuary for them. They know that they will never gain anything from this peace conference. Victory will come to the intifadah and to those who have risen for justice.

The Jewish parliament caught fire yesterday. This fire of wrath will burn the Zionist rulers in Tel Aviv and this holy flame will reach the U.S. Congress too.

The Russians betrayed us too. They betrayed Islam. From the first day that communism came to power in the Soviet Union, Islam was its target of confrontation. Now some new rulers have come and wish to reconsider the principles of their system. But they have abjectly agreed to dispatch Soviet Jews to the occupied territories in return for a few billion dollars, like beggars. Their foreign minister also intends to have talks with the U.S. secretary of state in Jerusalem. Shame upon the Soviet Union and its hated, failed regime, which has joined voices with Baker! Baker is the same ugly, hated, disgraceful, and despicable individual who is housing thousands of satans in his blue eyes. He will be annihilated too, with more disgrace added to his name as soon as possible.

We shall proudly and powerfully hold the conference in support of Palestine on Saturday 19 October. The leader has also recommended that this conference should be held with the greatest glory. [passage omitted]

Larijani on U.S. Presence, Regional Issues

NC1310083091 Tehran RESALAT in Persian 6 Oct 91 pp 3, 16

[Interview with Dr. Mohammad Javad Larijani, adviser to the Foreign Ministry, by unidentified RESALAT correspondent in Tehran—date not given]

[Excerpts] [RESALAT] Our first question is on the extensive U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf. The current U.S. presence in Kuwait and Turkey and probably in other regional countries is reminiscent of British activities prior to the seventies. What is your assessment of this presence and its effects?

[Larijani] The issue is not U.S. presence in the region. It is its usurpation of the region. The Kuwaiti and Persian Gulf crisis ended in such a manner that, in a way, the United States occupied the area and brought it under its direct domination.

The dimensions of the U.S. aggression are not limited to Kuwait. With the establishment of its bases, the United States is seeking complete domination of the region, which includes Turkey and the Middle East. Unfortunately, the Ba'thist Iraqi regime dealt one of its greatest blows to the Muslim nations and the Persian Gulf region by its occupation of Kuwait, which was second only to the attack on Iran by Baghdad.

If you wish to know the U.S. objective behind these moves, my opinion is that the U.S. concept of security for the past 30 years has been that of seeking a gendarme. When the former regime was in power, the United States was seeking a gendarme in the region and this theory could not materialize with the victory of the Islamic revolution.

It groomed Iraq for this surrogate role, planning for quite a while, but the Iraqis showed that they were interested in furthering their own extensive expansionist objectives in the region. Therefore, the United States now has based its theory on a regional structure which it will control itself.

The current U.S. theory for the Middle East has three firm bases:
1. The Persian Gulf, which now includes Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.
2. Turkey.
3. Israel.

Of course, it may be stated that the United States does not consider itself firmly established in the region, because the regional conditions, like those elsewhere in the world, are similar to a game in which the players and rules are being changed constantly and it is difficult to determine the real winner.

What can be stated clearly at this juncture is that the U.S. effort is directed at gaining a direct and strong military base which will also yield subsequent and extensive political and economic benefits.

In my opinion, no rival of the United States may appear on the international scene until the end of this century. The only potent factor is the role of the people in the Islamic world, which the United States fears. In various reports it has been specified that if the people in the Islamic world were to stage one massive uprising, the United States would not know how to tackle it and how far it would be able to resist it.

This is where the importance of the Islamic Republic of Iran is significant, and perhaps this may not stem from direct economic or military interference but our impact and role in more on the thinking of the world of Islam. God willing, one day the Muslim nations will awaken and be able to liberate themselves from the greatest evil that has afflicted the world of Islam today.

[RESALAT] What is the specific objective of the United States in its military occupation of the region?

[Larijani] The United States has two main objectives in this matter. Its long-term and ultimate aim is to strengthen and consolidate the abovementioned three bases of its security umbrella. Therefore, it wants to create coordination among the forces in the Persian Gulf, Turkey and Israel, which should be given an organic [preceding word in English] form. [passage omitted]

Another of the U.S. regional objectives is that it wants to prepare itself against the future situation in Iraq. I believe that the Americans will not accept Saddam's regime in any form and are seeking to replace him. The reason they are not in a hurry is quite clear. The presence of Saddam's regime benefits the United States at present. [passage omitted]

The United States also has elicited concurrence from the Persian Gulf countries so that Israel would have a part in the expansion of programs for regional environmental protection, desalination, desertification, converting of arid land into arable land, prospecting for oil, and social and economic expansion. In other words, it should have a say in the administration of these countries.

In my opinion, it seems very comfortable for Israel to enter into the coterie of Persian Gulf countries, instead of countries such as Egypt and Syria, where the people have culture and education, and, despite the efforts of the Egyptian Government, the Muslims of the country are displaying violent reactions. But in the Persian Gulf countries, in view of the distinctive social conditions, demographical composition, and form of governments, the Israelis can enter and gain a foothold.

Even though the people will react in these countries as well, the density of population and the culture that is present in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Syria is less evident in the Persian Gulf countries. Therefore, in the light of the above factors, the United States has decided to retain Saddam. It also is possible that the United States considers military readiness necessary to replace the Saddam regime. This, however, is merely a short-term measure. In general, the United States and its moves are geared mostly toward coordinating the three bases of security mentioned above.

The United States is preparing itself for a conference of Arab countries and Israel. Unfortunately, the Palestinians have accepted a most degrading compromise. Even more degrading is the U.S. Government's reaction to the decision by the Palestinian National Council, which did not consider its retreat demeaning enough and is seeking a serious debut in the games of the U.S. scenario.

If such an event had taken place in the history of the PLO, it would have been enough to generate a major change in the organization and I doubt that the Palestinians will accept such a disgrace.

[RESALAT] What information is there on the mode of the deployment of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf? Ostensibly, the Americans will be stationed on Kuwait's Bubiyan Island, and in Turkey (in the vicinity of the Iranian border). Does this pose a danger to us?

[Larijani] In the long term, the extensive U.S. presence and its intervention in this manner in the region is evident—which poses a serious danger to Iran's security—and is not confined to the United States. If any country were to deploy forces in the region in this manner and bring its resources into the region and endeavor to establish a security system which impinges on the sovereignty of the regional countries, we would feel endangered. But there appears to be no evidence right now that the present array of troops is aimed at Iran. If it is so, we are not aware of it. There would be no reason for this in the short term, whether from the political or economic point of view. In itself, however, the presence of U.S. forces and their policies in the region is always an extremely serious danger.

[RESALAT] The analysis exists that following the convocation of the Middle East conference and the resolving of the Arab-Israeli dispute, the United States will direct the sharp edge of its sword toward the Islamic revolution and will come after us. What is your opinion on this?

[Larijani] The Arab-Israeli dispute will not be resolved by this conference, that is, with the establishment of a racist regime against Muslims. A prolonged crisis will begin in the aftermath of the conference, and perhaps this will bring about the awakening of the Muslims. The U.S. peace conference is a call to Muslims to be alert to the fact that Israel is encroaching on their homes and has pitched its tents on their oil and economic resources, and is seeking to strengthen its foothold in the region with the height of audacity. The United States will not be able to resolve the Arab-Israeli dispute so easily. The other point—that following the peace conference, it will come seeking us out—is a fallacious deduction. The United

States sought us out a long time ago and it will not come after us now. [passage omitted]

It is obvious that the issue of fundamentalism is directed toward us, as, on principle, the mere existence of the Islamic Republic of Iran is in itself a propagation of Islam and a return to its true injunctions, which the United States considers to be a danger, as it is seeking to dominate the world of Islam. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] What will be the effect of the U.S. presence in the region and their setting up bases in most of the Persian Gulf countries, and consequently, on our relations with those countries? What policy should we adopt to combat the situation?

[Larijani] The Islamic Republic of Iran's policy is clear. The National Security Council declared its clear stance twice on this issue. We are trying to tell these countries to refuse U.S. domination. As a matter of fact, giving bases to the United States will not benefit them. They should know that the usurpation of their country by others is extremely painful, as was the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq. The occupation of their countries by the United States will be no less painful. If they wish to protect themselves and their national interests, the solution is not to hand over their country to another power. This will bring about the worst consequences for themselves and the region.

We want these countries to be farsighted and to refrain from imposing this situation on their nations. In my opinion, however, this seems most ineffective at present because even if they want to, they will not be able to avoid this situation, as they have in fact handed over their countries' keys to the foreign forces.

[RESALAT] The Kuwaiti officials and most of the people of that country consider themselves indebted to the United States, and say that the United States liberated them in the Persian Gulf war.

[Larijani] This is the crux of the matter. It is not as if the United States has liberated Kuwait and handed it over to them. The United States liberated Kuwait from Saddam's clutches and retained it in its own hands. Those who say they are indebted to the United States are either foolish or U.S. lackeys.

The Americans freed Kuwait from Iraq's clutches, and they now intend to swallow the entire region. This is not the liberation of Kuwait. This was our stance in the Persian Gulf war and we knew then that, according to the interpretation of President Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the war is a mere tussle over a treasure trove.

If Kuwait was to remain under usurpation, it is not a source of pride that it should fall out of the frying pan into the fire. If Kuwait was to be liberated, there were many forces which had the ability to perform the task and these countries know fully well who stood up to Iraq.

They realized our strength during the course of the imposed war, and now the veils have been lifted and the Almighty is disgracing the infidels of the world day by day. When the documents on the nuclear capability of Iraq were divulged, it was evident that the United States, the West and the Soviet Union had equipped Iraq so that if they were not able to thwart Iran, Iraq would be able to use its nuclear weapons against it at an opportune moment.

Therefore, why is it that Kuwait took refuge with the United States, which had equipped Iraq with nuclear weapons so that Iraq occupied Kuwait? Instead of realizing that they should depend on us, the countries of the region say that the Iranians are dangerous and they do not accept us. Well, how do they accept the Americans, who so overtly armed Iraq? I believe that if we were to envisage the regional security arrangements, it would have guarantees and all the countries of the Persian Gulf would be included. God willing, if a sensible government were to come to power in Iraq, the Iranian Government would be its best guarantee, as would be the other countries of the region. This means that we would be able to combat all kinds of aggression and an actual liberation if need be, not taking from one and giving to another.

I firmly believe that such a regional arrangement is quite practical in the Persian Gulf.

[RESALAT] In your latest interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES, which was cited by IRNA, it was deduced that you concur with the U.S. presence in the region as well as in Kuwait. Is this true?

[Larijani] With regard to the U.S. presence in Kuwait, I wrote a detailed analysis two or three years ago warning of its dangers. I am amazed that even though I denied the remarks in this interview and it was obvious that they were not my words, some newspapers and magazines believed the U.S. correspondents and criticized me. What kind of conduct is this when a Muslim brother says something and it is not believed and an American infidel says something it is accepted? I suggest that the science of doctrines scholars coin a new phrase called "the American preference" to describe such behavior. It is really far removed from Islamic norms of behavior to disregard a Muslim brother's words in preference to an infidel's allegations.

With regard to this interview, however, I should say that it was a detailed discussion taken from a tape and in a fit of mischief the U.S. correspondent did not quote me but paraphrased what I said. If you read the complete text, you will notice how the words were distorted and news agencies repeated them this way, which was most unethical, especially since they knew my stance on the issue very well and could have come to me for verification. What is even worse is that despite the fact that I issued a denial and sent the text of the key questions and answers to them, the correct version was not disseminated on the usual teleprinters. The implications are clear. This was most inappropriate of IRNA.

[RESALAT] Dr. Larijani, you are are frequently misquoted and your speeches and interviews are in fact projected inversely in the press. What preemptive measures have you planned in this regard?

[Larijani] Of course I have had many foreign interviews; I am being interviewed constantly. The interviews in which there are no controversial issues are ignored in the press. They only seek those segments that Westerners have distorted, and in the past few years since the revolution I have in fact seen the kind of Western correspondents who have no qualms about making such distortions. They only differ in their manner and one cannot expect much from them since they work from their own agenda. The most important point here is that I have given scores, even hundreds of interviews and on those few segments that have been distorted there has been a concomitant reaction at home.

Once, when a newspaper accused me falsely, the responsible person was contacted and asked why if someone has not said something is it written as if he has. He answered that it is not important whether or not it was said. We wish to crush this kind of thinking.

You judge what kind of Machiavellian [preceding word in English] ideology this is. If we are opposed to a way of thinking we can easily tackle it instead of insisting on believing an American, and not a Muslim, even after I denied such allegations and falsehoods.

There was an article in KEYHAN HAVA'I regarding my NEW YORK TIMES interview in which 16 falsehoods had been attributed to me. The U.S. correspondent misrepresented my article and remarks, but KEYHAN HAVA'I, which is published with funds from the Muslim exchequer to present news about conditions at home for Iranians abroad, pinned lies on a Muslim. [passage omitted]

I have not officially filed a complaint against them, perhaps because I do not attach much importance to the issue. If there is an important issue at stake I will go through legal channels.

[RESALAT] My next question pertains to Iraq's future. It appears as if the United States plans to coalesce the groups opposed to the Saddam regime and exert pressure on Saddam. On the other hand there is the issue of an independent Kurdistan. What is your opinion on the subject?

[Larijani] Regarding U.S. policy and Iraq's future, I can say with certainty that they want to dispense with Saddam and set up a government in accordance with their own wishes. This should be in such a manner that in the course of Saddam's removal and the aftermath there are no clashes, either military or among the people, since in both cases control of the situation would be wrested from U.S. hands.

The United States is more apprehensive of a clash involving the people or a popular uprising in Iraq because any kind of involvement by the people in the future government will make it independent and it will lean toward Islam, which would not be in accordance with the policies the United States wants to impose on Iraq. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] Most of the Soviet republics that have declared independence tend to lean toward the West or a Western model. What is your assessment of the future of the Muslim republics? Will they be influenced by the Islamic Revolution of Iran?

[Larijani] As for the republics leaning toward the West, there is a general tendency that varies in intensity. For example, the Ukraine not only leans toward a Western system, but considers itself one of them as far as its political stands go. It even attacked the UN General Assembly resolution that Zionism is tantamount to racism and defended Zionism. This is obviously because it wishes to woo the influential Zionist lobbies in the United States to extract assistance from them. Most of the republics seem to be vying with one another in courting the United States.

In the other Soviet republics, there is not much to attract U.S. attention as Americans never spend money without an ulterior motive. Cultural or economic motives are usually present. In my opinion the Muslim-inhabited republics—where Islamic thought and movement is on the verge of fruition and people have been kept away from religion and God for 70 years—are now returning to God and an era of religious revival and this is a most heartening phenomenon for Muslims everywhere. We should obviously assist these nations even more, because they are not the focus of attention by the West, which will not invest in them because their economic problems are extensive and immense.

[RESALAT] Ostensibly, Americans and Westerners have implemented a series of measures in the Muslim-inhabited republics.

[Larijani] Perhaps some measures have been implemented but not the same kind of investment as in the Baltics and the Ukraine. I consider it too farfetched that these republics should conclude that their path of salvation lies in the the West, even though a general leaning toward the West to lobby for economic aid and official recognition can be perceived in them.

[RESALAT] It appears that the West, especially after the defeat of Marxism, is seeking to spread its liberalist culture all over the world and the fallout and effects of this issue have even been felt in our country. What is your definition of liberalism and what is our opinion on the culture of liberalism's growth in the country?

[Larijani] [passage omitted] The West has values it wishes to inculcate in the Third World. One of these is that they should not waste their efforts and they should just emulate the progressive countries, meaning that they deserve to be second rate and they should remain second rate when they forge ties with a first rate system. They

tell us that the advanced world should remain advanced and power depends on "force," "economics," and "technology." Since you do not have any of these you deserve to remain second rate. Instead of trying to develop yourself, just accept being second rate and our relations will be wonderful.

[RESALAT] The ambiguities here are that inside our country there are many who raise slogans against the West and project themselves as opposed to the West but have liberalist leanings and ways of thinking.

[Larijani] The fact is that as his eminence the imam (may his soul be sanctified) said, the Islamic government and the Velayat-e Faqih have dimensions that for many are not very distinct. I do not mean that these people do not believe in an Islamic government. They probably do not comprehend the essence of the Islamic government, even though they may have exerted a lot of effort in this regard. On the other hand, liberalism was in our country for a long time. Not only in our country, but in other Islamic countries as well Muslim, intellectuals have at some point interpreted liberalism as a new Islamic concept. [passage omitted]

Our salvation lies in a return to Islam, the true Islam based on revelations, the Islam of our late rightful deep-thinking intellectuals. After his eminence the imam, these seeds were cultivated. In any case, apart from internal matters which I consider secondary I believe we are on the threshold of a worldwide onslaught against the infidel mode of thought. The 21st century will probably witness the clash and battle of Islamic thought against Apostasy.

Baghdad Radio Reports Anti-Regime Unrest

NC1610104191 Baghdad Radio Baghdad in Persian to Iran 0630 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] According to reports received, in Esfahan, Hamadan, Orumiyeh and Sufyan, people have been writing anti-regime graffiti on the walls. Slogans of "Death to Khamene'i," "Death to Hashemi- Rafsanjani," and "Khamene'i lives like royalty and the people like beggars" can be seen inscribed on the walls in Esfahan, the Qods township, Shahinshahr and the Esfahan (?dam). In Hamadan, the rash of anti-regime graffiti has assumed new dimensions as slogans against the regime's officials can be seen on all the city's walls.